Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-229
Wednesday
27 November 1991

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Democratic Party Makes Demands on Government

AU2711111091 Tirana ATA in English 0950 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 27 (ATA) — On November 26 a joint meeting of the group of deputies and the National Council of the Democratic Party [DP] was held in Tirana. The chairman of the DP, Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha submitted a report. After the report and the contributions, a statement of the Democratic Party, was read out. It said:

The joint meeting of the group of deputies and the National Council of the Democratic Party in the meeting of November 26, 1991 pointed out that Albania has entered into a general political crisis. The government of stability which was considered as the only political and compulsory solution 5 months ago is today on the verge of complete bankruptcy. The political equilibrium which should keep on foot the government of stability has been more than once brutally upset by the Socialist Party, here it is not for the silent sabotage of so many decisions of economic character beginning with the law on land and up to the recent decisions on the privatization of the enterprises. We are not mentioning here also the numerous officials, members of the former Party of Labour, who continue to work in the state apparatuses but we mean the open violation of political coexistence among the political forces of a democratic state, such as the control over the state television, in spite of the open protests of the Albanian democratic opinion and the working people of this institution a well as the continuous running of this institution by a Marxist director appointed illegally.

Now such trials as that of Shkoder or the investigation on the thefts and abuses of the red nomenclature which are touch stone for a new democratic state, have been broken up or thrown into oblivion. In these two great processes democratic Albania saw the establishment of the foundations of the new juridical state and expected that they would close a black page in the history of the country and would pave the road to national unity.

But the Albanian people, rather tired of the grave economic crisis are ever more disillusioned and losing faith in this government and parliament.

Under such circumstance, when the Albanian state is being run by occult forces and when the fates of the country are in a crossroad, the Democratic Party, bearing in mind its role as the main force of the opposition, decided to lay before the government, the parliament and other parties taking part in the government, including the Socialist Party, the following demands whose realisation would serve the overcome of the political crisis:

1. The free general elections be held no later than February 23,1992.

2. The trial of Shkoder should resume and the culprits of this political crime be sentenced.

3. The question of the Albanian RTV be solved according to the constitutional norms and the Helsinki charter.

4. The blockmen accused of abuses to the detriment of the Albanian people and state be arrested.

The meeting of the deputies and National Council of the Democratic Party decided that if these demands will not be met until December 3, 1991, the Democratic Party will withdraw from the government of the national stability to pass into an active, honest and constructive opposition in service of the lofty interests of the Albanian people and nation.

Shkoder Students End Strike After Agreement

AU2611152591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The hunger strike of students at Luigj Gurakuqi University in Shkoder ended yesterday. A declaration issued by Strike Committee Chairman Flamur Bucpapaj states that the students, after seven days on strike, reached an agreement with the political parties over many of their claims, including bringing forward the elections to a suitable time, fulfilling students' economic demands, etc.

The declaration also states that the strike was ended because sick and physically weak students were involved, and that many students have still not appeared for classes. The declaration calls on all students without exception to attend the university, because the strike may continue at a more suitable time.

SDS To Nominate Zhelev as Presidential Candidate

AU2711110191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] In connection with the 26 November meeting of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Coordinating Council, Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Council said the following:

The meeting discussed the upcoming activities of the SDS National Council in connection with nominating the candidates for the posts of president and vice president. Some well-known SDS organizations already expressed their willingness to nominate Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev as candidate for the post of president. There were individual voices supporting the candidacy of Stefan Savov, but he categorically declined the proposal. The candidacy for the post of vice president will be decided soon. The name will be published simultaneously with the official nomination of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev as presidential candidate. This was pointed out by Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council.

The statement issued by the reverend Father Khristofor Subev on 26 November prompted me to contact Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev and ask him about the SDS attitude toward Dr. Zhelev.

[Nedelchev] Relations between the SDS and President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, are as could be expected between a man who personified the SDS, led it for a long time, and continues to represent it, despite his unifying functions as the head of the Bulgarian state.

Personally I, on 23 November, together with other colleagues from the SDS parliamentary faction, had a talk in Varna with Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev. We talked about the blue symbols of the SDS, the amendments to the Law on Electing the President, the proposals made by Ms. Virginiya Velcheva, who also participated in the talk, and other matters.

Dr. Zhelev shared his views about the upcoming elections. We were very satisfied with the talk. I would like to remind your listeners that only one week ago in a major interview, Dr. Zhelev declared his membership in the Sofia Club for Democracy, chaired by Ana Serafimova. It is well-known that this club is a member of the federation led by Yordan Vasilev, which in its turn, is a member of the SDS.

Dr. Zhelev assured us that he will nominate his candidate for the post of vice president, and that this will be an SDS member. According to him this candidacy will be greeted with satisfaction.

Naturally, at the 26 November meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council, which I could not attend because of the delay in my flight from Burgas, but on whose decisions I was briefed, the procedure of nominating the candidate for the post of president, as well as candidates for the post of vice president were discussed. Those discussions will continue on 29 November, but we have no doubt about the necessity of positively defending Dr. Zhelev's candidacy, and confirming it as the SDS candidate. Thus there will be a total synchronization in the activity of the SDS representatives in all governmental organs.

[Correspondent] Then, what remains to be decided before the official announcement of Dr. Zhelev's candidacy?

[Nedelchev] The name of the candidate for the post of vice president, something that will happen at the 29 November meeting.

Kozloduy Official Denies Radioactivity in Danube

AU2711083991 Sofia BTA in English 2028 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Kozloduy, November 26 (BTA)—Mr. Yordan Yordanov, chief of the Nuclear Safety Department at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, denied reports about hot radioactive particles in the River Danube.

"It is practically impossible to discharge such waste into the river," Mr. Yordanov said on national radio today. According to him, this was confirmed by the international commission, including Romanian experts. The final readings show that the discharges from the nuclear plant cannot contaminate the Danube with radioactive particles.

Mr. Yordanov's statement was confirmed by Mr. Yanko Yanev, chairman of the National Committee on Peaceful Atomic Energy Uses. Mr. Yanev described the allegations as "unsubstantiated," adding that "hot particles in the Danube could result only from melting a reactor or from atomizing it."

It was Romania that reported the contamination of the Danube with hot radioactive particles. The nuclear news network with its head office in Berne, Switzerland, approached the competent Bulgarian authorities with an enquiry in this connection early today.

IAEA Completes Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Inspection

AU2711114491 Sofia BTA in English 1103 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Kozloduy, November 27 (BTA)—Experts of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy examined the nuclear fuel inventory and control system at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. The experts also verified the safeguards of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The IAEA officials had no remarks to make on the report documentation and on the mechanisms of control over nuclear fuel.

The experts took stock of the nuclear fuel at generating units 1 to 4 and inspected the spent fuel storage facilities. IAEA control devices, such as seals, video cameras and closed-circuit television, at the Atomic Energy Economic Corporation were also checked.

Interior Minister Dismisses Sofia Police Chief

AU2611183591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Announcement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Center]

[Text] The alarming situation in the country connected with the rise in crime, which is acquiring frightening dimensions and causing serious disquiet among the public makes it necessary for the Ministry of Internal Affairs to adopt a number of resolute measures of counteraction, based on the lawful possibilities and competence granted to it under the law.

The package of measures being undertaken by the ministry also includes a reevaluation of the professional competence of supervising officers. In a number of centers of population throughout the country, and in Sofia most of all, the leaderships of the relevant directorates have failed to demonstrate by their activity that they are able to influence the situation in real terms. At the same time, individual officials have committed a number of offenses, omissions, and unprofessional actions connected with organizing the fight against crime.

In this context, the minister of internal affairs has issued an order for the dismissal of Lieutenant Colonel Chavdar Chernev, director of the Sofia City Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and other officials in the same directorate. The dismissals are not based on political motives, and they are the result of facts established following an investigation of certain tip-offs concerning irregularities committed by the Sofia City Directorate, including ones supplied by the mass media.

The leadership of the ministry intends to firmly follow a policy of severity toward all leading officers at various levels, with the aim of ensuring high professional qualities.

Ganev Comments on Balkan Relations, USSR

AU2611144391 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 26 Nov 91 p 4

[Maren Koester-Hetzendorf report on "exclusive" interview with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev in Sofia; date not given: "Island of Stability in the Roaring Sea of Emerging Nationalism"]

[Text] Sofia—"We are willing to be an active partner of all states that support democratic values," Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev promised. He made it clear that he was not exclusively referring to the West with this statement. He is 36 years old and belongs to the sober postwar generation that does not use ideology but economic efficiency as a yardstick for the value of a system. Thus, it is not sentimentality that relations with the Soviet Union and its republics will continue to play an important role for Bulgaria. Over 80 percent of Bulgarian exports go there. Without the gas and coal supplies from the Soviet Union, the energy supply in Bulgaria would collapse. This became apparent in October when deliveries were suspended for a short period. Electricity had to be switched off for 60 minutes every three hours.

Foreign Minister Ganev is pleased that Eduard Shevardnadze was reappointed as Soviet foreign minister. Coordination among the republics will now improve again. During the interview, Ganev emphasized that the "Union of Democratic Forces" (SDS) ruling in Bulgaria has good relations with the "Movement for Democratic Reforms" in the Soviet Union and its chairman.

However, Sofia also wants to establish relations with the individual republics of the Soviet Union. It plans to send an ambassador to Russia. This is only a question of time. "We also expect that development in the Ukraine will make it possible for us to establish diplomatic relations." The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Baltic republics, too, is just a matter of time. Bulgaria has already concluded an agreement on the supply of energy and raw material with the Ukraine.

In opening diplomatic relations with the Soviet republics, Sofia wants to use the respect for democratic values as a yardstick. This includes the peoples' right to self-determination, effective control of the territory, observance of human rights, and the protection of minorities.

These conditions have already been fulfilled by Slovenia and Croatia as well. However, the jurist Ganev is cautious. As a matter of fact, he sees no serious reason that speaks against recognition, but Bulgaria does not want to go it alone. "We respect the principle of noninterference." Sofia's attitude toward the sanctions adopted by the EC is also vague and uncertain. However, Bulgaria would participate "in collective operations by NATO or the EC."

On the other hand, Bulgaria is so far the only country that has recognized the sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia. This is a sensitive issue in Bulgaria because Macedonia belonged to the Bulgarian cultural area for a long time. For this reason, Ganev immediately added that the recognition of the state is not identical with recognition as a Macedonian nation. Bulgaria's policy is pragmatic. "We want to acknowledge realities because this is the only possibility to achieve stability."

Sofia views itself as a counterweight to the unstable Serbia in the Balkans. Being an "island of stability," Bulgaria is the ideal country to initiate a small Balkans conference between Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey. According to reports in Sofia, an initial high-level meeting might take place as early as in December.

Ganev did not mention Romania in this connection. Relations between the two countries are heavily burdened because of the controversy over the Giurgiu chemical plant on the Danube. The Bulgarian town of Ruse situated on the other side of the river is facing extreme environmental pollution.

Relations with Turkey are considered free of problems at this point. The new government will pursue a courageous and resolute policy aimed at the integration of the Turkish Bulgarians (they account for about 10 percent of the population) and of all ethnic communities into Bulgarian society. "Bulgaria must not be a mother for the ones and a stepmother for others." This policy has been "highly praised abroad", and this "is an incentive for us."

Bulgaria wants to show other countries also in other ways that it has undergone fundamental changes. Like the Foreign Ministry, the diplomatic service is to be completely reorganized because numerous diplomats and ambassadors were transferred from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, from the Interior Ministry, or from the security services to their posts. All diplomats and employees of ministries must now undergo qualification tests. The personnel will also be reduced.

Ganev announced that the current ambassador to Austria, Toshko Toshkov, will also be removed. "This should not be a negative assessment of the ambassador, but this move should demonstrate that the government intends to create a new basis for relations with Austria." Bulgarians living in Austria also want new faces at the embassy. "Until recently, nobody dared to enter the embassy."

Ganev hopes for support by Austrian authorities in tracing state assets that were illegally transferred to other countries. The foreign minister stated that former Bulgarian diplomats and members of the communist nomenklatura are suspected of having used state assets to build new lives abroad as entrepreneurs. To put it mildly, "millions of dollars are involved here," he stated.

Pushkarov Supports Black Sea 'Common Market'

AU2711082291 Sofia BTA in English 2134 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Report by BTA correspondent Boyko Borisov: "'Black Sea Common Market' Turns Into Duty-Free Zone"]

[Text] Sofia, November 26 (BTA)—The idea to establish a "Black Sea Common Market" for the free movement of goods, capital and manpower proposed by Turkey's President Turgut Ozal has developed and is more acceptable to Bulgaria in its present shape. This question and the relevant documents will be negotiated in the future, according to Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, minister of industry and trade.

Asked by the BTA, he commented [on] the statement of Turkey's ambassador in Sofia, Mr. Yalcin Oral, according to whom a Bulgarian-Turkish agreement will be signed within the framework of the Black Sea economic zone initiative. Mr. Oral said this in his address to the participants in the Bulgarian-Turkish business forum which started here today.

After a series of diplomatic contacts showed that the idea of a "Black Sea Common Market" is premature and unacceptable to the parties concerned, Turkey changed its proposal. Its latest project is closer to the idea which is acceptable to Bulgaria at least, to establish a common duty-free zone, which will include Port Burgas and the surrounding area on Bulgarian territory, according to Mr. Pushkarov.

He described the project as very promising. Thus Bulgaria and Turkey will create a "base" for storing and packaging goods on their way from the Far East to Western Europe. The "Three Tigers" and Japan are showing great interest in the project because of the exorbitant prices of these services in the countries of the European Community.

The idea of the Black Sea economic zone still has many unknowns, according to Mr. Pushkarov, such as the disparate economic development of its possible members and the future of the former Soviet Union, among other factors. "I do not see how Turkey and, for instance, Armenia, could reach an agreement," Mr. Pushkarov said.

SNR Presidium Defines Draft Treaty, Constitution

LD2711031791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Excerpts] The Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium defined at its meeting in Bratislava today the drafts of the state treaty [smlouva] and the Slovak Republic Constitution. After the meeting, Alica Bielikova invited Ivan Carnogursky, Slovak National Council deputy chairman, to the microphone:

[Begin Carnogursky recording, in Slovak] We discussed both the state treaty and the draft of the constitution. The Presidium noted that the final versions of both documents were drawn up and that they are ready and will be handed out to all Slovak National Council deputies. Opening a debate on this issue at the [SNR] 19th session appears premature and unnecessary. The reason is simple. The documents are the fruit of the work of all 10 parties and movements represented in the Slovak National Council. We expect the 19th Plenum to endorse the draft, which was already proposed by us, and that this document will be made available for a nationwide discussion. [passage omitted]

Slovak Cabinet Approves Balanced Budget for 1992

LD2711073891 Prague CSTK in English 2202 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 26 (CSTK)—The Slovak Cabinet today at a special session approved a balanced budget for 1992, with cuts for every ministry except Health and Interior.

While the ministries originally requested 104,000 million crowns (3,477 million USD) more than Slovakia could afford, Slovak Finance Minister Jozef Danco told reporters, the government managed to agree on a budget with 126,800 million crowns (4,223 million USD) on both sides of the ledger.

Danco said the process was especially complicated by the ministries' investment needs, in particular for construction and for the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project, and by requests for large subsidies for Slovak farming.

One area singled out for significant cutbacks, Danco noted, was state administration, which he said "in comparison with the Czech Republic has 1,400 more officials in the central offices alone". (the population of the Czech Republic is roughly 10.3 million, the Slovak Republic approximately 5.3 million—ed.)

Included in next year's revenues for the Slovak Republic will be a 3,000 million crown (100 million USD) contribution from the Czech Republic for wage taxes collected from Federal bodies and state-owned enterprises operating in the Czech Republic, Danco said.

Slovakia's reserves are to be increased by 500 million crowns in the 1992 budget, most of which will come from the savings in state administration, according to Danco.

The Slovak Cabinet also approved measures designed to ensure the budget remains balanced through the remainder of this year, specifically by limiting expenditures in those ministries which are now running in the red.

As of October 31, 1991, the Slovak Republic's budget showed a deficit of 3,300 million crowns (110 million USD).

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Also today the Slovak Cabinet discussed a report on financing the construction of the nuclear power plant in Mochovce, West Slovakia, and approved measures to allow the participation of foreign capital this year.

The ministers took note of the ongoing cooperation between the Slovak Energy Company (SEP) and a consortium of West European power plant firms—A.S. Bayernwerk, Electricite de France and Preussen Electra—which is providing 1,100 million DM in credit to be repaid in electricity beginning next year.

Cabinet Discusses Union, Arms Conversion Issues

AU2611160491 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[B. Janik report: "Social Net—A Comfortable Swing? The CSFR Government Allocated Money for Conversion"]

[Text] Information on the two most important items on yesterday's agenda of the Federal Cabinet—the implementation this year of the General Agreement [between the government, employers, and trade unions] and of the directive for today's session of the Council of Economic and Social Accord and also support from the federal budget for projects aimed at converting arms production—was provided by Ministers Hoffmann and Dlouhy after the government session.

Hoffmann stated that a broad-based campaign has been launched, particularly in Slovakia, for the implementation—or more precisely, against the nonimplementation—of the General Agreement. On 25 November, a warning strike is even to be held.

The Government's Two Principles

The cabinet formulated two basic positions. First, it will, on no account, accede to concessions that would jeopardize the reform and transformation process. Second, the social net is too comfortable and, frequently, demotivating. Interventions are, therefore, necessary that would make it more effective and more specifically targeted, while at the same time cutting costs. As many as 46 percent of citizens receive social welfare payments.

Anti-System Measures

The cabinet discussed [trade union] demands for abolishing wage regulation, for raising the limit on wage increases, reducing wage levies, retaining price regulation, and renewing subsidies. These are, in essence, anti-system measures that jeopardize to a smaller or greater extent the transformation process and reform. This is also the position that government representatives will communicate to their partners at today's meeting of the tripartite council. The Federal Government invited Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Vavro to attend the discussion on this issue.

Money for Conversion

Dlouhy informed journalists that the cabinet allocated 1.5 billion korunas to support conversion, of which 1.2 billion is earmarked for Slovakia. Of the 99 arms industry enterprises, 98 (62 from the Czech Republic and 36 from the Slovak Republic) submitted to the CSFR Ministry of Economy 304 projects (186 of them were submitted by Czech Republic enterprises and 118 came from Slovakia). The cost of the implementation of these projects amounts to 26 billion korunas, of which demands for state funding represent slightly more than 7 billion korunas.

Selection of Projects

Selection was, therefore, necessary. A total of 125 projects made it into the last round, 121 of which, with total costs of 1.047 billion korunas, require relatively low support of less than 50 million korunas. Four projects require support in excess of 50 million korunas. These are: production of "Lombardini" diesel engines in the ZTS [Heavy Engineering Works] Turcianske Martin plant (support of 181.3 million korunas); production of "Hanomag" construction and road-building machinery, also in the ZTS Martin plant (72.9 billion korunas); production of mobile working machines in the ZTS Dubnica nad Vahom plant (104 million korunas); and the development of the production of axles in the Podpolianske Engineering Works in Detva (93 million korunas). The government approved those four projects. Decisions on the remaining 121 projects fall within the jurisdictions of the Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of Finance.

The government also was to discuss the bill on pension increases in 1992. It postponed the debate on the bill, on the understanding that it will return to the issue once the budgets have been drawn up.

Slovak Foreign Ministry Rejects UN Observers

AU2711122491 Prague CSTK in English 1705 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 25 (CSTK)— "The Slovak Ministry for International Relations regards the petition calling on the United Nations to send observers to Slovakia as excessive and counter-productive," says a statement given to CSTK today.

The petition, initiated by more than 30 Slovak deputies to the Federal Assembly (Czechoslovak parliament) and the Slovak National Council (Slovak parliament), was made available to the public on November 22.

According to the petition, the observers should ensure objective and unmanipulated information of the international community about the political development in Slovakia.

The statement says that if the signatories of the petition complain that the image of Slovakia is being distorted they should think about whether they made use of all possibilities for the world to see Slovakia as it really is.

The endeavor to see the reasons of disfavor outside does not testify to national maturity which some often speak about, the statement says.

Dienstbier Views USSR Ties, SFRY Issues

LD2511190191 Prague CSTK in English 1819 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CSTK)—The Soviet market is "unsaturated and enormous" and it would be absurd for Czechoslovakia to turn away from it, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told a press conference today.

Reacting to the Civic Democratic Party's (ODS) rejection of ties with the Soviet Union in the document passed at their November 22-23 congress, Dienstbier said his "triangular plan", whereby Western Europe would subsidise the sale of goods from the former east bloc countries on the Soviet market, is not an attempt to build some kind of new Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the former socialist trade bloc.

In fact it is intended on the one hand to get immediate aid to the Soviet Union before winter sets in, and on the other hand to provide Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Polish enterprises with sorely needed western investment, Dienstbier explained.

The rightist ODS, headed by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, and the centre-left Civic Movement (OH), led by Dienstbier, were both formed from the breakup of the Civic Forum (OF) in January of this year.

Referring to his meeting yesterday with Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic, Dienstbier said Czechoslovakia supports the creation of an international investigative commission and an international court to judge war crimes committed on both sides in the Yugoslav conflict.

On the possibility of sending Czechoslovak soldiers to take part in an international peace-keeping force, said

Dienstbier: "We should share in the peace forces if we want to bear responsibility for developments in Europe."

He also commented on Friday's statement by over 30 deputies in the Slovak and federal parliaments calling for United Nations observers to monitor the objectivity of information in Czechoslovakia on Slovak politics, saying: "I do not believe the situation here calls for it."

Carnogursky Sees No 'Danger' From Ukraine

LD2711072391 Prague CSTK in English 2213 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 26 (CSTK)—Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky today said he cannot see any danger coming from Ukraine, but on the contrary, he views Ukraine as potentially a very good friend of Slovakia.

He was referring to a statement by Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa (a Slovak national) at a meeting with Slovaks living in the Czech Republic yeterday that he fears what impact the breakup of Czechoslovakia would have on Slovakia.

Calfa said Ukraine "has 450,000 men under arms and wants to have nuclear weapons. It is completely naive to think that Ukraine would let a state on its western border develop according to its own notions".

During a break in today's session of the Slovak Cabinet Carnogursky told journalists: "The Ukrainian Government has stated its interest in good contacts with Slovakia, Czechoslovakia and other countries. The strength of its army is its own matter. Minister (for International Relations Pavol) Demes was assured that Ukraine does not want to be a nuclear power, but on the contrary wants to destroy its nuclear weapons under international supervision".

Carnogursky said he will travel on Sunday to Hungary for another round of talks on the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project. The Hungarian Government, he said, will probably agree with the participation of foreign experts in solving the future of the project. "Thus far, the Hungarian Government has not agreed with foreign specialists taking part—by which I mean especially experts from the European Community", Carnogursky said.

Gabcikovo is the Czechoslovak part of a hydroelectric pressure from domestic environmentlists in August 1989 Hungary broke off construction on its side in Nagymaros. [sentence as received]

The Slovak Government is resolved to put the hydroelectric plant in Gabcikovo into "provisional" operation in October 1992 which Hungary says would violate the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, which established the current Czechoslovak-Hungarian border.

Importance of EC Association Agreement Viewed

AU2711112891 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Nov 91 p 11

[Interview with Dr. Zdenek Drabek, CSFR Ministry of the Economy official, by Vladimir Matejovsky; place and date not given: "Not Just a Political Landmark; The Association Agreement of Czechoslovakia and the EC Reaches Its Objective"]

[Text] This morning in Brussels, Czechoslovakia and the EC should initial the association agreement. Although the festive signing will not take place until December, the initialing of the agreement means that the most important talks so far have de facto ended.

In addition to the tremendous political significance, the agreement will have an enormous economic impact. Federal Economy Ministry Commissioner Zdenek Drabek, who took part in its drafting, assesses the most important economic passages:

[Drabek] The agreement establishes a free trade zone between us and the EC, i.e. both sides agree to gradually eliminate all tariff and non-tariff hindrances restraining imports. At the same time, we obtained a so-called asymmetric concession that allows us to remove our import barriers slower than EC during a transformation period of 10 years. Hence, our domestic producers will be, to a certain extent, protected against competition and provided with room for adjustment.

The twelve EC countries, on the other hand, will remove all the import barriers for most commodities from our exports immediately on the day the agreement comes into effect, which should be the beginning of next January. A time schedule was agreed upon for liberalization of some items, with terms ranging up to a maximum of five years. In the the controversial case of metallurgical products, a three-year regulated liberalization will be implemented; individual textile items will continue to be protected by import quotas—which in many instances will be several times higher.

[Matejovsky] In addition to the trade sphere, mutual economic relations are important....

[Drabek] It is the other pivotal sphere of the agreement. It introduces two important principles, namely the "national approach" and "capital liberalization." The former principle means that the companies and entrepreneurs from the EC will be subject to the same rules and regulations as their domestic counterparts and, of course, this will be reciprocal. It is, basically, a compendium of the treaties on investment protection already signed with individual member countries.

The latter principle will release (within the framework of our foreign-currency law) the flow of capital between Czechoslovakia and EC countries including business profits, proceeds from sales, and dividends. Numerous foreign currency and other limitations still exist in Czechoslovakia in this sphere. The Twelve accept this

and tie the full implementation of the principle to the CSFR's sufficiently strong balance of payments.

[Matejovsky] Does the agreement also pertain to the area of financial cooperation?

[Drabek] Of course, although it would be more appropriate to call it the EC's financial assistance to our Republic. I would divide it into three parts. First, the technical assistance that, until now, consisted of the well-known non-investment assistance program, PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary], within whose framework we have received this year a grant of 100 million European currency units (approximately $120 million). This program will end in 1992, but the EC is already thinking of something similar. I estimate an amount of the same size, but we must realize that the number of countries asking the EC for technical financial assistance will grow.

The second form of help will be conducted through the European Investment Bank, despite the fact that until now the Bank has served exclusively the member countries of the Twelve. This concerns mostly loans for a modernization of our infrastructure. The third and the last form of assistance will be a promise to support our balance of payments, which compares to the loan of 1 billion dollars we received from the Group of 24 this year, and where the Twelve provided one-half. This and other potential loans serve to cover the deficit in our foreign trade and reinforce the central bank reserves.

[Matejovsky] Dr. Drabek also names, among the important parts of the agreement, the promise to harmonize the legal and other systems. He will return to the economic aspects of our significant association agreement with the EC on this page.

Meciar: Report on KGB Ties 'Cruel Joke'

AU2711095691 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 22 Nov 91 p 5

[Peter Bleha report on a meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia with citizens in the Bratislava Park of Culture and Repose; date not given: "Demagogy Without Limits—A Few Piquant Samples From One Meeting With Citizens"]

[Excerpt] The latest meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] with citizens, held in the Bratislava Park of Culture and Repose, was addressed by several leading representatives of this movement. Some of the ideas that they expressed are really worth publishing.

On the Report on the Results of Investigations of the Slovak National Council Defense and Security Affairs Committee:

V. Meciar: "When I read it, I told myself that this was a cruel joke. But to joke in this way with citizens, with public opinion, with facts—that is a bit too much even for Spejbl and Hurvinek [characters of a Czech puppet show, noted for ridiculing serious issues].... The whole thing was produced in March upon Mr. Carnogursky's initiative, when they wanted to dismiss me and had to justify the dismissal.... If this report is the first thing, what reports and what evidence against me did they actually have at that time; why did they deceive [the public]? They had no evidence, and whatever the report says was invented by them.... The period when the StB [secret police] members were masters there is considered (in the report) to have been the shortest period....

As for my contacts with the KGB.... I was the chairman of the commission for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Slovakia.... I had talks with them, with officers or generals, and I asked all of them to leave Slovakia ahead of schedule.... They withdrew from Slovakia 10 months ahead of schedule. There were still Soviet troops in Bohemia at a time when there were none in Slovakia. This was an issue that I could not discuss with anyone but these services. Talks with the American intelligence service would not have pulled it off....

.... there was a plan to produce evidence that I had been a KGB agent. Two versions were drafted.... The first was that, after the events in Hungary, I had concluded an agreement with Andropov—I was 14 at that time.... The objective of the second version was to prove that I had attended Brezhnev's funeral and that I had contacts with the KGB during the funeral. A face was supposed to be found, similar to the one on television, to be able to say that this was Meciar.... [sentence as published] Mr. Sutovec drafted a version, according to which I had been in Kiev to pick up instructions. You see, the chairman of the Chamber of Nations utters such rubbish and is even proud of it and would like to take Dubcek's seat as [Federal Assembly] chairman.

... I will not keep it a secret. I have the material that the Defense and Security Affairs Committee has.... I will publish evidence that testifies against those who are silent.... I would sue them.... I would sue the Slovak National Council as a whole, because it is the institution, in the name of which they speak. How is it possible that [Chairman of the Slovak National Council Defense and Security Affairs Committee] Mr. Javorsky, in cooperation with [Federal Interior Minister] Mr. Langos, carries out screenings of citizens, for which he has neither the consent of the legitimate bodies—that is, without a resolution of the Slovak National Council Presidium and the Defense and Security Affairs Committee—nor the consent of the citizens themselves? Who is it that is playing dirty tricks?.... May God protect us against such an institution (the Slovak National Council), against democracy understood in such a way...." [passage omitted]

Croatia's Greguric Interviewed Before Departure

LD2611131291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Interview with Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric by Istvan Kulcsar in Budapest on 26 November—recorded; Greguric speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric left Budapest this morning after holding talks with Jozsef Antall yesterday.

[Kulcsar] Mr. Prime Minister, when do you expect that there will be general international recognition of Croatia? Have you received any promise of this in Hungary?

[Greguric] International recognition is a matter of time. We expect it to happen in the middle of December. Of course it is expected that it will not be one country that decides this at first, but at least six or seven countries at the same time. Regarding Hungary and its government, with the representatives of which I held talks here in Budapest, they are also working on this issue in a responsible way and with goodwill.

[Kulcsar] The United Nations intends to send soldiers to Yugoslavia. What will be your stance if they want to station these observers or peacekeeping forces along the frontline that exists at the moment?

[Greguric] Talks were held on this topic in Geneva on Saturday, attended by Croatian President Tudjman, Serbian President Milosevic, and Yugoslav Defense Minister Kadijevic. Cyrus Vance and Lord Carrington were also there. The issue was that the UN troops be stationed along the border of Serbia and Croatia, and the border of Crna Gora and Croatia. However, for the time being there is a war going on in those areas where the forces of the world organization are to supervise and observe the situation. Therefore a zone has to be created in which there are no soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army. That is, it will practically be a demilitarized zone.

Comments on Croatian 'Facism'

LD2611221991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Interview with Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric by correspondent Istvan Kulcsar in Budapest on 26 November—recorded; Greguric speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted [Kulcsar] I know that the internal political situation in Croatia today is also rather complicated. Members of the so- called Croatian Black Guard threaten to bring down the government with violence if their leader, Mr. Paraga, is not released.

[Greguric] Well, you know, when there is a liberation war under way, like the one there in our country, there are always people who will be dissatisfied with the method of solving the problem. However, things have to be observed objectively. Six to seven months ago, when we started the fight, we Croats did not have an army nor any arms. The Yugoslav Army, however, has been preparing for this war since its existence. So this is really the fight of David against Goliath. This is when these extremist nationalistic individuals came forward, and alleged that they could solve the crisis differently.

Croatia is a democratic state, ten parties participate in its government and we can not look on with folded arms. We will not allow extremist right-wing individuals to create armed units. If they want to fight against the common enemy, they have to do so within the framework of the regular army. Incidentally, there is too much said about this gang in the world today. Lately, Paraga has been giving interviews left, right, and center. He alleges that they have 20,000-30,000 fighters. This is not true. The number of their armed men is about 1,000 at most. And the Serbian communist propaganda tries to make the most of the fact that these individuals are beginning to get active, and they are talking about Croatian fascism, even though such forces do exist also in France and Germany. Naturally, it is one thing until they only carry out political activity, but if they form armed units illegaly then that is a crime.

Refugee Influx From Yugoslavia Continues

LD2711100591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Report by Csaba Belenessy from Croatia]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In the past 24 hours, 1,519 people have crossed the border at the Dravaszabolcs crossing. Of this number, 576 have asked for temporary protection.

According to estimates, there are at least 38,000 Croatian refugees in Baranya, Somogy, and Tolna counties. Yesterday, there was a lot of traffic at Dravaszabolcs, mainly in the morning. Buses brought people, mainly women, children and elderly people, from Osijek and nearby settlements to the border. The men have remained at home, responsible for military service.

The refugee accommodations in Mohacs and Mariagyued have been full for the past days, but it has been possible to find room for everyone in camps in the central area of the country. Eleven buses also arrived from Czechoslovakia yesterday to pick up schoolchildren from Osijek. They managed to get 200 children out.

Organized relief actions are expected to continue today. The Maltese Charity service will send six ambulances to Osijek this morning. They plan to make several round trips and bring over 60 injured to Hungarian hospitals.

Raffay on SFRY Border Violations, War Danger

AU2611190391 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with Erno Raffay, political state secretary at the Hungarian Defense Ministry, by Karoly Lencses; place and date not given: "For the Time Being, Serbs and Croats Are Busy With Each Other"]

[Text] According to security policy experts, in the short term, no conflict can emerge that would lead to a war between Hungary and Yugoslavia, Erno Raffay said during a background discussion over the weekend. In connection with this, we asked Erno Raffay to describe the consequences of the situation in Yugoslavia.

[Lencses] Mr. Raffay! Your declaration seems to suggest that we have to fear the further escalation of the crisis in Yugoslavia, and even the possible turn of the warring sides against Hungary.

[Raffay] The Croatian-Serbian conflict is now fully engaging the forces of the confronting sides. However, the role of the Bosnians, the Albanians living in and outside Yugoslavia, and the Macedonians is also questionable, and it is difficult to forecast who will attempt to spread this crisis over the borders and when they would do so.

[Lencses] Do you mean that one side would initiate an external war as an outlet for the Yugoslav conflict that seems to be impossible to resolve?

[Raffay] Yes. There have already been such cases in Europe, when a war was started to preserve a sham unity and to drive different efforts in the same direction. However, such a development is not likely today, and I hope it will not happen in the future, either.

[Lencses] It has already been voiced and you now confirmed it again that some of the border violations and atrocities, like the bombing of Barcs, were a deliberate provocation. How can one prove this?

[Raffay] In connection with Yugoslavia, we cannot draw conclusions based on assumptions. For example, regarding the bombing incident at Barcs, the measurements and other circumstances available to us prove that, with great probability, the pilot did not fly over Hungarian territory by accident. The aircraft approached the border at high altitude, then quickly descended, dropped its bombs, turned back, and escaped at high speed. At the same time, there was a blackout in force on the Yugoslav side, so the border line was quite clearly discernible from the air. Therefore, our claim is based on expert analyses free of any political considerations.

[Lencses] However, the experts themselves claim that a pilot of an aircraft flying at twice the speed of sound only has to deviate from its course for a tenth of a second....

[Raffay] That is true, and therefore, it is necessary for the mixed committee to be set up with the participation of the two sides to examine the case and compare the arguments. I only represent one of the possible approaches now.

[Lencses] The bombing is perhaps the most serious problem. How can we prove that this was a deliberate action?

[Raffay] Indeed, this is the biggest problem because one also has to take into consideration the fact that a MiG-23 is able to fly at a speed of 2,800 km per hour. However, the fact that two aircraft approached Barcs and only one of them bombed the Hungarian village gives food for thought. Perhaps the mixed committee will provide an answer to this question, too. We would be glad if the committee could prove that all this was nothing but an accidental maneuver, a so-called slipping over the border. Besides, a hot line between the central combat positions of the Yugoslav and Hungarian air forces has been set up precisely to avoid similar cases and useless conflicts, and this hot line has been operating regularly since 21 November.

[Lencses] Our border police and police units are carrying out increased patrols along our southern borders, but these forces are only enough to eliminate smaller irregular troops at most. Does the situation also justify the regrouping of some army units?

[Raffay] We continuously provide new anti-armor weapons to our border police to increase their ability to defend themselves. However, it is certain that all this does not calm the area population, and they really demand a more active position. We already received feedback about the joy of our population over the increased activity of our Air Force in the area. However, in accordance with the guidelines of Hungarian foreign policy, the Hungarian Army shows extraordinary caution. This is justified by at least two factors: the future of the almost 500,000 ethnic Hungarians living in Yugoslavia and the future of eastern-central Europe. If we drifted into this conflict, this would represent a serious problem for the entire region, including Hungary. Take, for example, the foreign capital that begins to escape from a crisis region immediately.

[Lencses] In other words, changing the deployment area of our military units is not our internal affair?

[Raffay] Let me give you an example: Following the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact, the territorial distribution of the armed forces also changed in the CSFR. Some of the elite units formerly stationed in the Czech lands have been redeployed into Slovakia but, in connection with this, the defense minister regards it as important to ensure his Hungarian counterpart that this should not be regarded as an unfriendly move. However, the relations between Hungary and the CSFR today are not burdened by any conflicts. Unfortunately, this does not apply to our relations with Yugoslavia, where the redeployment of Hungarian forces would certainly be interpreted as an unfriendly step. However, at present, we do not intend to carry out such a redeployment.

Ministry Official Discusses EC Membership

AU2711112191 Budapest MTI in English 1654 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Brussels, 24 November (MTI)—"The association agreement initialled by Hungary and the European Community [EC] on Friday [22 November] has declared Hungary's firm intention of becoming fully integrated into the political, economic, and security order of the new Europe and later joining the EC as a full member," Endre Juhasz, head of department of the Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations, told MTI in Brussels.

Juhasz, who headed the Hungarian delegation which negotiated the association agreement with the EC, went on to say, "if Hungary duly fulfills the stipulations of the agreement, it will make a major advance towards full membership. With relatively few modifications, this association agreement could be transformed into an accession agreement. Our current agreement regulates a number of fields, for instance free trade and the free flow of labour, capital, and services, which would form part of an accession agreement," Juhasz said.

"The institutions to be formed, for instance the Association Council, will also promote Hungary's approach to the EC, and the co-ordination of political standpoints. The new agreement will offer new chances for Hungary, for instance in the field of restructuring, while the Hungarian industry will remain protected for some years," Juhasz said.

Jeszenszky on 'Legal Marshall Plan' for East Europe

LD2711025291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] A legal Marshall Plan is being prepared by the Council of Europe for Eastern Europe. Geza Jeszenszky, who attended the session of the body's committee of ministers, said that in its framework the intention is to provide wide-ranging assistance to the region's countries in legislation related to the building and transformation of a new constitutional state. The Council is also preparing to provide legal and constitutional law assistance to Yugoslavia, for ending the war, and to contribute to a solution of the minority problems, the Hungarian foreign minister said.

Assembly Ready To Send Monitors to Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2711055191 Budapest MTI in English 1924 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—If requested, the Hungarian parliament's committee on human rights would be prepared to delegate observers to an international monitoring group in Nagorno-Karabakh, Deputy Chairman Istvan Laszlo Meszaros told Baroness Caroline Cox, deputy leader of the House of Lords of Britain.

Cox, now visiting Hungary at the invitation of the local representation of the Switzerland-based Christian Solidarity International (CSI), consulted with the committee on human rights and minority and religious affairs and the foreign affairs committee of parliament.

The baroness, who made a fact-finding trip to Nagorno-Karabakh on behalf of CSI, informed the Hungarian MPs about the current state of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Accompanying the baroness here was Armenian priest Zori Balayan, Nagorno-Karabakh's representative in the Soviet legislature, who gave a dramatic account of the events in his homeland.

Cox also met Alajos Dornbach, deputy speaker of parliament.

Defense Committee Breifs Media on USSR Visit

LD2711105691 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 91

[From the "Newsreel" program]

[Text] At a Defense Committee press briefing on its journey to Moscow it was stated that several republics are busy creating their own independent national military force and defense ministries. They are making preparations for a defense policy. Therefore, they are dramatically decreasing their nuclear striking power. In addition, they want to reduce their army by one million people. They would like to reallocate money for building homes by stopping the construction of military establishments.

In reply to a question by "Newsreel," the Defense Committee members indicated that there was no mention of starting contact with various national armies. However, they demonstrated readiness for the delivery of new supplies of Soviet military technology for the Hungarian Army in exchange for Ikarus spares.

Trade With Soviet Union Decreased Almost 50%

LD2611223391 Budapest MTI in English 1601 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—Trade between Hungary and the Soviet Union has shrinked to almost half the size it was last year, with Hungary's exports dropping by 57 per cent and imports by 32 per cent, an official of the Hungarian International Economic Relations Ministry said today. Although contracts for 1991 foresaw Hungarian exports reaching 2 billion US dollars and imports amounting to 1.5 billion, turnover, in fact, has been much lower.

Hungary's exports to the Soviet Union this year were worth 340 million US dollars, while imports reached only 890 million, the official said. Next year is still expected to be a transition period in Hungarian-Soviet trade. Talks are to be continued with individual republics.

Bilateral trade agreements have already been concluded by Hungary with Bashkiria and Russia, and similar

accords are expected to be reached with the Republics of Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Armenia and the Ukraine as early as December 1991.

Goncz Assesses Law on Statute of Limitations

AU2711113191 Budapest MTI in English 1414 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI)—"The presidential proposal concerning the law on limitations is currently being examined by the Constitutional Court," Andras Farago, spokesman for the president of the Republic, told journalists at a news conference in Budapest on Monday.

He said that President Arpad Goncz sent a letter to the Constitutional Court asking it to examine whether the lifting of the statute of limitations is compatible with Hungary's Constitution, which is inseparable from the principle of legal security.

In the letter, Arpad Goncz states that calling to account should be exclusively within the boundaries of a state governed by the rule of law, as dictated by the country's international prestige and the morale of the political changes. Should the court find the law to comply with the Constitution, the president of the Republic will sign it soon, if not, parliament will have to discuss it again.

As was reported earlier, President Arpad Goncz requested the Constitutional Court to comment on the law on the prosecution of serious crimes committed between December 21, 1944 and May 2, 1990 but not prosecuted due to political reasons. Under the law, which was passed by parliament on November 4 but has not yet taken effect because of worries about its consitutionality, the statute of limitations would be lifted for crimes such as murder and high treason committed in the said period.

Smallholders Party Views Legitimate Representation

AU2711113091 Budapest MTI in English 2031 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI)—Hurly-burly has broken loose in the Hungarian parliament as the now split Independent Smallholders' Party grapples with questions of what to call themselves, where to sit, and which group represents their original ideas.

The debate on which wing of the split smallholders has the right to use the name Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) unfolded at the plenary session of the Hungarian parliament today.

ISP President Jozsef Torgyan asked the speaker, in an unscheduled address, to determine new seats in the rows of independent MPs [members of parliament] for those ISP representatives objecting to an earlier resolution of the party leadership.

Back in early November, the ISP presidium called upon ISP faction members to sign a "loyalty statement" to the party and its presidium. Thirty-three MPs refused to make the statement. The ISP presidium then decided to exclude them from the faction. The MPs refusing to sign the statement said they had already committed themselves to the party's ideas when joining it, and signing such a statement would harm their independence as MPs.

Jozsef Torgyan called upon the 33 MPs not to use the name Independent Smallholders' Party in future, stressing it falls into the scope of the party leadership alone to decide who belongs to the ISP parliamentary faction. The 33 MPs, however, want to go on working as the parliamentary faction of the ISP, Deputy Faction Leader Istvan Borocz said, reporting on a faction session today.

The speaker closed the debate requesting the Constitutional Committee and the House Committee to look into the matter of the split faction.

SZDSZ Chairman Tolgyessy Outlines Goals

AU2611185191 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Nov 91 p 9

[Interview with Peter Tolgyessy, newly elected chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Balazs Stepan; place and date not given: "The Alliance of Free Democrats Is the Party of an Independent Society"]

[Excerpts] [Stepan] Why is it that the eminent members of the Alliance of Free Democrats' [SZDSZ] administrative body—the most prominent representatives of the democratic opposition—stood up after your election [as party chairman] and refused to work in the administration any longer?

[Tolgyessy] I would have liked some kind of continuity to accompany the renewal. I would have liked an equal proportion of new and old people. This did not happen, although quite a few people stayed on. Gabriella Buki, Imre Mecs, Ottilia Solt, and Pal Juhasz accepted their nominations. I think the most important thing now is to find the institutional forms that will enable everyone to take part in the SZDSZ's work. It would be unfortunate if any wisdom or experience were lost.

[Stepan] Ottilia Solt accepted her post in the administrative body so that the internal opposition would also be represented in this body....

[Tolgyessy] Yes. It is important for criticism to also be voiced in this body. Appropriate forums can be found for this criticism. The parliamentary faction itself is one of these forums. I think that the parliamentary faction (and not the administrative body) should guide the SZDSZ's parliamentary work and behavior. I have not heard of anyone giving up their mandate, so criticism will also be present in the faction.

[Stepan] How will relations change between the party and the faction?

[Tolgyessy] I would like to largely restructure these relations because until now, the faction has acted as the executive branch of the administrative body, implementing the decisions made by the administration. The larger administrative body (which also included the faction leadership) also made decisions on faction affairs. I was not a member, but I noticed that the administrative body spent 70 percent of its time discussing parliamentary issues. This needs to be changed. It would be good if the faction decided independently on the SZDSZ's behavior in parliament. Nevertheless, the party leadership should still have control over strategic issues. [passage omitted]

[Stepan] On the basis of some of your earlier statements, the press has concluded that you want to be both party chairman and faction leader, that you would like to centralize the leadership....

[Tolgyessy] I do not think that the press misinterpreted some of my statements, but rather that my political rivals tried to create the impression that I favored a one-person leadership. On the contrary, I would like to include as many new people as possible in the leadership. It would be good if as many people as possible from the faction's third line came into the second line. [passage omitted]

[Stepan] Which values should be present in the SZDSZ's practical policies?

[Tolgyessy] The SZDSZ should function as the party of an independent society. Indeed, there are parties that expect success to come from the state, and they hope that Hungary's modernization will take place through a hierarchic, pyramid-like society. This has been like a red thread going through our parliamentary debates—from the debate on local governments to the one on the issuing bank law. We envisage Hungary's modernization in a Western way, with an autonomous market economy, welfare benefits guaranteed as a civic right, interest representation groups (rather than patron-client relationships), and strong local governments (not poor, weak ones). The SZDSZ has to accept its role as the party of embourgeoisement. It has largely accepted this already.

[Stepan] Will the SZDSZ's role in the opposition change?

[Tolgyessy] Until now, the SZDSZ has participated monotonously in parliamentary debates, providing a professional but not always easily comprehensible form of negation. This has to be changed. We need to voice an easily comprehensible and resolute "no" on certain issues. There are many issues of this kind, like the budget debate, for instance. On other issues, however, we need to find a compromise, no matter how big the difference between the viewpoints of the SZDSZ and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Indeed, our constitutional legal system is such that a two-thirds parliamentary majority is needed not only on the Constitution but also on numerous extremely important basic laws. If we are unable to reach a compromise in this area, it could cause a crisis. However, if the SZDSZ can convince the public on these issues through a calm and easily comprehensible argumentation, this could also encourage the MDF to look for a compromise.

Assembly Prolongs Ban on Conversion of Co-op Farms

LD2711054291 Budapest MTI in English 1917 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 26 (MTI)—On Tuesday afternoon, Hungarian parliament heard some interpellations. Later on, parliament prolonged the ban on converting co-operative farms into public limited companies or other forms of property from late November to the end of December this year. The decision was meant to prevent the removal of land and other property from co-op farms before December 15, the deadline for presenting claims under the compensation law. At 7 p.m., Deputy Speaker Alajos Dornbach closed the session, saying that it had no longer a quorum.

Labor Minister Kiss Analyzes Employment Policy

AU2211150191 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Nov 91 p 10

[Interview with Minister of Labor Gyula Kiss by Szilvia Hamor; place and date not given: "The Economy Is Unpredictable—Job Creation Is Illusory at the Moment—Gyula Kiss: I Will Remain a Smallholders Party Minister"]

[Excerpts] The number of unemployed has recently grown by a monthly figure of several tens of thousands of people. Looking back over a whole year, almost 250,000 people have found themselves on the streets without being able to find a new job. What means does the government have at its disposal to give these people a minimal sense of security in their existence and some assistance in finding a job?

[Hamor] Why is it that the government regularly underestimates the number of expected unemployed in its forecasts?

[Kiss] If you are referring to the exactness of our forecasts, then I have to tell you that we made several forecasts that showed that the number of unemployed would reach 300,000 or 320,000 by the end of the year. The latest statistics indicate that 317,000 people are jobless at the moment, so we were not very wrong in our forecasts. Indeed, there are so many uncertain elements in the economy that nobody could make an exact forecast. Incidentally, this will also apply to next year.

[Hamor] How could one prevent these uncertainties from automatically leading to a greater burden on employers and employees? How could we avoid them

cutting the Gordian knot from time to time by increasing the solidarity contributions that cover unemployment benefits?

[Kiss] The 6-percent contribution suggested at the moment covers the requirements of some 600,000 unemployed. Thus, the Solidarity Fund would become practically self-sufficient (in the long term, according to our calculations), and there would be no need for budgetary contributions—except for the benefits due to civil servants, of course. Furthermore, there is a budget guarantee on the money to be devoted to so-called active means to help people find new jobs. Next year, this guarantee will amount to 1.5 billion forints. [passage omitted]

[Hamor] Benefits are not a final solution. They can only provide some security for a relatively short period of time.

[Kiss] I sincerely hope that one day journalists will also report on little positive results, too. For example, a few days ago, we inaugurated the first regional retraining center in Miskolc. Some 3,000 or 4,000 people could be retrained every year in this center or in its associated branches. We plan to open eight or 10 such retraining centers over the whole country. Thus, all those who need to can learn a new trade near their home.

[Hamor] The only question now is what kind of training you will give these people and how many of them will be able to find jobs?

[Kiss] This year, some 40,000 people were retrained in this country and almost every single one of them was able to find a new job.

[Hamor] What do you retrain people to do when there are no jobs in their particular district?

[Kiss] The fact that there are no jobs at the moment is not at all an employment policy issue. The only thing we can do now is create a basic system of institutions that can deal with unemployment and the unemployed on a national level, breaking this activity down into areas. It is also our duty to work out a legal basis so that unemployment can be handled, both now and after the recession. If you are expecting me to rid Hungary of unemployment in my first year, then I cannot fulfill that requirement because it is an impossible task. It is an illusion to think that we could first create jobs, and that the unemployed would only appear afterwards. [passage omitted]

Believe me, one of the most important issues for the government right now is how to handle unemployment.

[Hamor] Could you give us any concrete ideas?

[Kiss] I think the government decision whereby 15 percent of privatization revenues should be devoted to job creation investments speaks for itself. This decision also needs to be approved by parliament. We also have 15 billion forints destined for the employment fund....

[Hamor] Many people believe that this sum does not at all correspond to real needs.

[Kiss] I also hope that this will not be the final figure. However, the amount of forints that are devoted to a specific fund is not just a question of intentions. We know that the budget also has an income side. [passage omitted]

[Hamor] In several places, the 300 people who have been fired will be replaced by 3,000 or 4,000 people tomorrow. I am thinking of industrial towns like Szekesfehervar, Ozd, and Komlo. What concepts or possibilities do you have to prevent or resolve ensuing conflicts?

[Kiss] I am convinced (and several government members agree with me) that, in itself, an employment policy is useless in these places. We need an economic policy that is broken down to suit regional and local requirements. For a solution, we first of all need a political will, and then a reflection of this will in the budget, as well as concessions that benefit the local economic sphere.

[Hamor] However, there are no indications of this in the draft budget.

[Kiss] This policy will not come into force just because it has been reflected in the budget. Indeed, the budget only deals with figures. Nevertheless, I am afraid that you should put this question to the Finance Ministry rather than the Labor Ministry.

[Hamor] When do you think these principles will be turned into practice?

[Kiss] I think that this will become an active and tangible practice by next year. The various ministries have developed a seriously coordinated strategy for this purpose. [passage omitted]

Walesa Addresses Opening Senate Session 26 Nov

LD2611135191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0900 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Speech by President Lech Walesa at opening of first session of the Senate in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen: The long years of the enslavement of Poland have passed. The hour of freedom has struck. The return of the Republic is a fact. After free presidential elections, free parliamentary elections have taken place. The full administration of independence is still ahead of us, requiring time.

Poland does not perish as long as we are alive, but it needs mending. The whole Polish edifice needs reconstruction. We are begining from the foundations, from the creation of the constitution that will carry the full edifice of the Third Republic and that creates a new legal order in our country. This order is to result from the guarantees of civic rights and freedoms. Our constitution must contain the norms that create a democratic state and a civic society. It should be based on the common system of values—universal but also taking into consideration the national identity of Poles.

Ladies and Gentlemen, yesterday in the Sejm I presented the most important tasks and pointed out painful problems. Today, I shall return to some of them. Reforms are so difficult that many doubt whether they are worthwhile. I hear that, for many Poles, privatization is synonymous with corruption. It is necessary to change such views and to prove that only widespread and resolute privatization can give Poland the opportunity to develop and allow us to emulate the Western economies. We are building a system based on private ownership, but people—after so many years of not owning things—are not ready for property ownership; they are afraid of it. Unfortunately, ownership for some is valued for itself, while for others it is valued above everything else.

Another major problem remaining to be solved is unemployment. Poland cannot afford unemployment. There is enough work in Poland and for Poland to last for generations.

Our society is also poisoned by yet another concern: bringing old issues to account. The rule of law that is being created will assist in self-purification. Here, too, the legislative authorities have a great responsibility. It is necessary to be aware of how difficult it is to overcome the old system. For the first time in the law, the economy, and our way of thinking, the revolution is taking the path of evolution and compromise. Nobody else has undergone such an experience.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have regained the sense of worth, and we have regained the inviolable human rights, above all the right to be our own masters in our own country. We are building the edifice of a fully democratic state. The world is interested in us again. Our experience is an example for others who have been freed from totalitarian systems.

Often, in accordance with the Polish scenario [as heard], we all wish to join the family of free nations. Europe is one, including the central and eastern parts. Europe has found itself today at an historic turning point. We must accept the challenge so that the Christian values that have been shaping this continent for centuries are not pushed away. We need diversity and coexistence, and not a life or death struggle.

What Yugoslavia is going through now is a warning. Poland said with finality: Whoever comes to me will be free and equal, as I am freedom—thus wrote Adam Mickiewicz [Polish Romantic poet]. Tolerance marks the soul of the Polish nation. The Republic gave birth to multinational culture, and various nationalities and faiths came together within its borders. These experiences enriched our fatherland. Now, the striving for open borders and frequent and free contacts can be a source of problems. The time is not right for partitions and changing borders; the time is for opening and for making equal levels. Poland is the bridge between East and West; it links the two lungs of the same European body. We have a historic responsibility, we must work out wise laws, we must organize our economic life in such a way that the weaker are protected and the stronger are shown their capabilities.

We want equal treatment. Poland, unfortunately, has had no chances for a normal development, but it is not a Third World country. It has a history and culture that are 1,000 years old and has an educated society. Dozens of generations over the centuries have created values that we must not forfeit. The treasures of our culture, the knowledge of our scientists, must be preserved and multiplied. I am saying this too as a father and grandfather. My children and grandchildren will live here, on the Vistula. Let them live in normal conditions and not among provisional arrangements and constant improvisation.

I wish to remind those who criticize us for the lack of results that, for over half a century, Poles were deliberately taught not to show initiative. The totalitarian state was to divide all the wealth. Right now, we are faced with the most difficult task: the takeover of responsibility for our own fate and the future of our country.

After nearly half a century of communism, society appears to trust no one. It only trusts itself. And that is why we have so many parties. And these often have programs that are contradictory and incoherent. Everyone wants to create life from scratch. Such is the logic of the transition from totalitarianism to democracy. This process cannot be simply leapt over. But, on the other hand, in protecting the state against disaster, we cannot let Poland be ruled by uncontrolled forces. Chaos and anarchy take us back in time. We would cease

being partners for the civilized world. We have to move ahead. Those who do not want to understand this are not thinking of Poland's future.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are embarking upon joint and hard work. Today we have to introduce quickly economic models that have proved to be correct in the world. We have to be credible and serious. We cannot change programs like gloves. If we are not consistent, no one will treat us the way we really deserve or want to deserve.

International economic politics only takes account of those who keep their word, those who guarantee political stability. We need that stability. That is why, as president, I cannot allow any party to pull and tear at the fabric of the Republic for its own private interests. The president stands guard over the Republic and will go on doing so. I regard this as my duty. None of the parties won the elections. Some could even speak of defeat. Compromise is needed. Until we formulate a program supported by many political parties, let us work calmly and stably.

The Parliament of the Third Republic has to take over quickly many issues and acts that the previous one did not manage to pass and to change even more regulations that do not suit the new times, that paralyze the functioning of the administration, and that prolong the agony of the old system. Parliament will appoint the government. But until that happens, let the present cabinet work calmly and submit a report. Let it prepare its proposals resulting from its experience.

I shall cooperate with the Parliament and its chambers. I promised the people many times that I shall change their fate and that was the only reason why I ran for president—and also to conduct reforms effectively after they were initiated by the strike at the Gdansk Shipyard in 1980.

We have won. What remains is to fill the wasteland left by the inhuman system. Let us make our victory fruitfull. Let us remember that independence and freedom are not given forever. It will depend on us what Poland will be like. God bless! [applause]

Chelkowski Elected Speaker

LD2611225491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Excerpts] The Senate is in session. The inaugural sitting was opened at 1000 by President Lech Walesa. [passage omitted] Next, called by Senior Speaker Jan Zamoyski, the senators took the oath.

Three candidates for Senate speaker were submitted. The Democratic Union [UD] put forward Zofia Kuratowska, NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity proposed August Chelkowski, and the independent senators' floor group proposed Piotr Chojnacki. Zbigniew Romaszewski, who was put forward from the floor, declined to stand since, he said, he intends to run for chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK].

The first secret ballot was inconclusive. Twenty-three senators voted for Zofia Kuratowska, August Chelkowski received 49 votes, and Piotr Chojnacki received 25. Two candidates entered the second ballot—August Chelkowski and Piotr Chojnacki. The former received 53 votes and the latter received 33. Consequently, August Chelkowski was elected Speaker of the Second Senate.

Report on Walesa Talks With Chrzanowski, Bielecki

LD2711134291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Report on a news conference by Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski at the Belvedere in Warsaw on 27 November—recorded]

[Excerpts] At 0730 today, Sejm Speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski and Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki arrived at the Belvedere for a meeting with President Lech Walesa. [passage omitted] The meeting has already ended. Andrzej Drzycimski, the president's spokesman, told our reporter, Andrzej Jelenski, and other reporters waiting at the Belvedere the following:

[Drzycimski] The political situation of our country was the subject matter of the talks. The president expressed his great concern about the efficient functioning of the executive authority. At the same time, he recalled his earlier initiatives, in which he drew attention to the need for the creation of a coalition of programs and, only then, the possibility of dismantling the structures of power.

In this context, the speaker and the prime minister supported the president's legislative initiative to put forward "a small constitution" to Parliament, because it may create a basis for an efficient functioning of the executive authority. At the same time, it was agreed that, this coming Friday, the president will meet with the Council of Elders to discuss the most urgent issues, but especially to discuss the president's initiative. That is all I can officially tell you, ladies and gentlemen. I can now briefly reply to a few questions.

[Unidentified Correspondent] Will the government's resignation be considered by the Sejm on Thursday?

[Drzycimski] It depends on the Sejm, of course. A motion was put forward, and the issue remains open.

[Jelenski] When they entered the Belvedere, Bielecki and Chrzanowski announced that they would talk to representatives from the press. However, they left after the meeting.

[Drzycimski] You should ask those gentlemen, not me. [passage omitted]

[Jelenski] Minister, when can we expect a meeting of the Five [coalition members] with the president?

[Drzycimski] It seems that following the issues discussed here today—and I suppose after the Friday meeting with the Council of Elders—we will be much nearer, in this regard, to an agreement and talks.

[Jelenski] Is there a chance that, similar to 1918, the shape of "a small constitution" might be created within 10 days?

[Drzycimski] Well, you are not far off.

Current Cabinet to Continue 'At Least Until 5 Dec'

LD2611195491 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The postponement of the Sejm discussion on the government's resignation does not change the prime minister's decision in this matter, Government Press Office Director Jacek Kozlowski assured. The prime minister and the ministers making up the cabinet will carry on their functions at least until 5 December.

Leaders Seek Rapid Formation of New Government

LD2611203291 Warsaw PAP in English 1936 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—Leaders of a number of Polish political parties speaking to newsmen after the end of Tuesday meeting of the Sejm (lower house) expressed opinions that Poland needs a new government as quickly as possible.

Leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski said that he as well as his party are in favour of prompt action. "If we want to observe rules of democracy, than there is no other alternative, Jan Olszewski must become the prime minister," said he adding that he had in mind "rules of parliamentary democracy which already exist in Poland."

Leszek Moczulski, leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) said that the society has a rather critical attitude towards the current government and it would be "very appropriate for Poland to have a new government by December 5 or 6.... The economic situation is quickly deteriorating, there is a need for new steps," said Moczulski adding that he is "deeply convinced that the president will very quickly name Jan Olszewski's candidacy for the premiership."

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, leader of the Democratic Union (UD) said he was surprised by today's announcement of such a long break between Sejm meetings. Mazowiecki said he expected that the chamber would discuss the resignation of the government on Tuesday or tomorrow, on Wednesday. "I think that this long break is linked with some kind of talks on the formation of the government," Mazowiecki noted.

Jan Olszewski, whose candidacy for the premiership has been forwarded by five centre-right parties, said that after Monday's voting on the election of the Sejm speaker the five parties proved that they represent a considerable force in the Sejm.

Candidate Olszewski Briefs Press 22 Nov

AU2611162391 Warsaw PAP in English 2313 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 22—Jan Olszewski, the candidate of the five-party centre-right coalition for the office of prime minister, told journalists Friday [22 November] that he would not be the cause of a conflict between the president and the Sejm (lower house) should such a conflict arise.

Commenting on the letter addressed by President Lech Walesa to Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki Friday, asking the outgoing prime minister not to submit resignation, Olszewski expressed an opinion that the president has a certain idea convergent with the one represented by the main forces in Parliament. Namely, before any personal decisions are made, a new legal basis should be first created for the activities of various democratic institutions of state life. Olszewski pledged the five's consensus on that point.

Referring to the five's contacts with Mazowiecki's Democratic Union (UD), Olszewski said that as far as the problem of the formation of the Sejm is concerned, such contacts have been established. As for the idea of the formation of a new government, the two sides represent two different approaches. "There are no signs of a possibility for agreement here," Olszewski said.

Asked about his attitude towards the Alliance of the Democratic Left, Olszewski said that at the moment the club of former communists cannot be recognized as a normal element of Parliament. "We do not question their right to function on normal terms in a democratic state. But it would be dangerous to have normal contacts with them at a moment when the democratic system is being shaped in Poland, when the situation is so difficult, when the situation across our eastern boundary is still not clear," Olszewski stressed.

Speaking on the current economic situation in Poland, Olszewski said that there is a need for a plan to rescue the economy. "There is little place for manoeuvre here, but we must come out of something which is already not a recession but an economic depression."

Expressing his view on the course of privatization Olszewski stated: "There is no retreat from the consistent building of free market, but the sluggish process of privatization caused deep anarchy in the economy. One has to change methods and climate around this problem, change the conviction that privatization means theft of national property."

Solidarity Chairman Discusses Next Government

AU2611182791 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 22 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski by Jan Strekowski in Warsaw on 18 November]

[Text] [Strekowski] Will the Solidarity deputies support a center-right-wing government composed of the "five parties"?

[Krzaklewski] Unless something unusual occurs, I think the union's deputies should withhold their support; otherwise, Solidarity will be considered a political party and identified with yet another government. Society must not perceive the next government as a Solidarity one. The new government will be proposed by specific political parties, each with its own name, aspirations, and program. This is important so that, once again, there may be a clear demarcation of responsibilities—the trade union, on the one hand, and the government team, equipped with a social mandate, on the other.

[Strekowski] But would you express your support, if the situation were dangerous?

[Krzaklewski] That is possible, provided a certain preliminary agreement—which I call a stabilizing agreement—is concluded beforehand. In this agreement, the union would formulate four or five basic postulates that should be implemented. Once this agreement is signed, we may support a particular government. Of course, we would withdraw our support if any of the postulates were violated.

[Strekowski] Would you accept a government headed by Jan Krzysztof Bielecki? I think you voted against him on 27 October.

[Krzaklewski] I do not wish to defend the prime minister, but we did not vote against him. It seems to me that, for some time now, the prime minister—who professes to be a member of a liberal party—has been prepared to accept the union's opening position for talks on state intervention in the economy and on changes in industrial policy and social security during the extraordinary situation of economic transformations. In other words, being a liberal, Bielecki has agreed with Solidarity's preliminary postulates, but the situation concerning their actual implementation by other members of his government has not been so good.

[Strekowski] Are you allergic to Balcerowicz?

[Krzaklewski] If the preliminary agreement does come about, if it includes an amendment to the law governing taxation on supernumerary wages, and if Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz says he will implement it, then we will have nothing against him. However, if he continues to adhere to his inflexible position and refuses to take steps to alter this law, to make these taxes more conducive to higher production, then he will encounter the union's opposition. That is why it is so important for the union to acquaint itself with the future government's program or to conclude a preliminary agreement with it.

[Strekowski] What preliminary conditions must the government fulfill, and what is Solidarity prepared to give up, if necessary?

[Krzaklewski] Solidarity will definitely not make stubborn demands that there is not enough money or resources to implement. We cannot make mere populist demands. However, we do expect the government to issue a clear statement about state intervention in enterprises, about abandoning the present taxation rules that torpedo productivity, and about greater control over privatization, so that the former nomenklatura does not acquire any more property. We will also call for legal changes to define the exact relationship between trade unions and employers. I have in mind the completion of our legislative initiative concerning collective labor agreements and of an amendment to the trade union law, which is not suited to the new organizational structure of the transformed enterprises. What can we give up? Certainly those demands for which there is no financial backing in the state treasury.

[Strekowski] Should Solidarity take some steps itself, like encouraging others to act or suggesting alliances?

[Krzaklewski] We have already been approached by other groups. We have been invited to join a so-called Solidarity-independent coalition, a name to which we object. The union reacted quickly, and it issued a suitable declaration. It is high time to stop deceiving people and bandying the union's name and label about. The parties should act their own. Let them form the government, because that is their job. We do not wish to make any hasty moves. However, we would join an alliance if an extraordinary situation arose and the union decided that joining this alliance would serve its members and help Poland. In that case, our role would be one of mediation and encouragement. We would not necessarily side with the government.

[Strekowski] But if the attempts to form a coalition government fail, would you accept a government of nonparty experts headed by Andrzej Stelmachowski?

[Krzaklewski] I wish to avoid giving names and stating preferences. I would like to see the work of the government protected against the effects of political polarization. The next government must be, more than anything else, an efficient executive and organizational machine. Having ministers that belong to a party involves an additional danger. Removing such a minister due to negligence or incompetence could be construed as a political act. I think both the present and the previous governments have had this trouble.

[Strekowski] Let us assume we will not manage to form a government. Would we survive a new election?

[Krzaklewski] Let us not exaggerate! Things are difficult, but they would be even worse if there was a total absence

of any maneuvering space. Taking the situation in industrial plants as an example. Various favorable positions were within easy reach, but they were never applied due to organizational inefficiency and a failure to learn from the past. After the first free election, it is not good to talk about another one right away. The nation has chosen its political representatives, and that must be respected.

[Strekowski] What can we expect in the coming months? Peace, stabilization, or just chaos? How much depends on the government and Sejm, and how much on Solidarity and society's resilience?

[Krzaklewski] A lot depends on everyone, but the greatest burden lies on those structures that determine society's fortunes—in other words, the structures of authority. People still believe that there is one single source of political ideas, a conception we must dispense with. Initially, everyone will expect a package of rapid decisions that will introduce novelties to the economic sphere and bring immediate results. Such decisions are possible as far as the spheres of organization, cadres, and tax are concerned, and people expect them. The new government will choke, if it once again starts searching for a magic solution to everything and begins to experiment. Instead, one must use the experience of previous years. It is rapidity of action that will largely determine what our country will look like and whether there will be peace or chaos.

Official Denies Arms Smuggling to Yugoslavia

LD2611222991 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—Spokesman for the State Protection Office (UOP) Irena Popoff denied Wednesday a report by REUTERS on the alleged smuggling of arms from Poland to Croatia via the United States.

Popoff stated that UOP had no information confirming that some 15 thousand machine guns could have been smuggled out of Poland in effect of an operation carried out by a citizen of Hong Kong as suggested by REUTERS. She said she doubted such an operation could be possible at all.

Also Interpol's national office had no reports of any attempts at smuggling arms out of Poland and into Yugoslavia.

Poland introduced an embargo on the delivery of arms and military equipment to Yugoslavia as of July 1991 and licences to sell arms are granted to Polish manufacturers exclusively which rules out the possibility of a foreign businessman or a joint venture company obtaining such a permit.

Balcerowicz Sees Potential for Exports to Russia

LD2711001491 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—Polish Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz after meeting with Russian deputy minister of economy and finance Yuriy Olkhovikov on Tuesday said that there are possibilities to at least double Poland's exports to Russia.

Polish and Russian delegations continued Tuesday the second round of negotiations on trade relations between the two countries in the 1992. Balcerowicz told newsmen that the signing of an appropriate trade agreement with Russia may take place before December 10.

Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Dariusz Ledworowski said that during negotiations the Russians expressed their special interest in importing Polish food, medicines and raw materials, including sulphur and added that Poland is ready to import Russian crude oil and natural gas.

Ledworowski said that the imports of part of the oil and gas will take place on grounds spelled out in the currently negotiated agreement and based on a list of priority goods to be included in the document. Another part will be bought in line with agreements between enterprises. Goods from the priority lists will be bought for hard currency, while forms of settlements among enterprises will be left to the decision of respective partners.

Olkhovikov on his part assured that there will be no restrictions on goods imported from Russia by Polish businessmen and said that President Boris Yeltsin's decrees permit liberalization of economic relations, including turnover among enterprises.

In the opinion of the director of the Office of the Council of Ministers Department for Foreign Economic Cooperation Alfred Siennicki the future agreement will provide for the delivery to Poland of up to 7 to 8 billion cubic metres of natural gas and 6 to 7 million tonnes of crude oil.

Russian deliveries of priority goods will be covered by the orders of the Russian Government. Such is one of the basic decisions reached Tuesday in conclusion of the second round of negotiations on trade and principles of settling accounts between Poland and Russia in 1992.

According to Poland's chief negotiator, Boleslaw Krawczyk of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, the Russian Government will also take over the obligations of the Soviet Union resulting from its trade with Poland, including debt. Under the negotiated agreement the Polish-Russian trade will be balanced and payments will be made in hard currency.

The rescheduling of Soviet debt owed to Western countries will make it possible for Russia to pay for Polish goods in hard currency earned from exports of oil to Poland. This is quite a diffrent situation than this year, Krawczyk commented.

According to well informed sources, the Russians want to import from Poland foodstuffs worth at least 500 million dollars, medicines worth 400 million dollars, 500,000 tonnes of sulphur and 1,200 cisterns. They are also anxious to restore cooperation links with Polish enterprises.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Ties With Ukraine

LD2711060791 Warsaw PAP in English 1922 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—Polish Foreign Ministry said Tuesday that "the present relations between Poland and the Ukraine are maintained through special envoys and consulates in Kiev and Lvov" and stressed that "any further steps in this sphere will depend on decisions reached by the interested sides as the situation develops."

The Ministry's statement was made following the publication of a commentary by PAP correspondent in Kiev expressing an opinion that the "establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Ukraine is a matter of time only and the sole condition that has to be met is a referendum planned for December 1 in which the Ukrainians would come out in favour of their country's independence."

EBRD Grants $62.2 Million in Development Loans

LD2711090591 Warsaw PAP in English 2232 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] London, Nov. 26—The European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) in London Tuesday granted Poland two loans totalling 62.2 million dollars for the development of a national cellular telecommunications network in Poland and building cold stores in the north-western port of Szczecin.

The State Cellular Telephone Company (PTK) will get 60 million dollars for financing the network and the purchase of equipment. PTK is a joint venture of the Polish Post and Telephones Enterprise (PTT) The France Telecom Mobiles International, and the Ameritech International, the fourth biggest firm of this kind in the U.S.

The Lodom Company of Szczecin will get 2.2 million dollars for building cold stores. Lodom is a joint venture company developed by the Polish-American Enterprise Fund, the Polish Mostostal Panel Company and the State Agricultural and Food Processing Enterprise in Szczecin, that is to be privatized shortly.

The EBRD, which operates since last April, opened the first credit line for Poland last June.

Visa Requirements for Hong Kong Lifted

LD2611202591 Warsaw PAP in English 1451 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—Poland and Hong Kong will drop visa requirment as of November 28, the Polish Foreign Ministry announced on Tuesday.

In tune with a signed agreement, Hong Kong citizens with British passports and persons with Polish passports may visit the two countries without visas for seven days. Visitors will be able to prolong their stay every seven days but not longer than for 30 days.

Hong Kong is the 28th state [as received] with which Poland signed an agreement on visa-free traffic. In Europe Poles are obligated to have visas while entering Great Britain, Ireland, Iceland, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey.

Iliescu Meets Press on Constitution, Other Issues

Makes Introductory Statement

AU2611174591 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1509 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Introductory statement by President Ion Iliescu at a news conference in Bucharest—live]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen: I will strive to be brief in my short introductory statement—only 10-15 minutes long—after which I am ready to answer your questions. I would like to express satisfaction at this important moment in the country's political life, namely the adoption of the Constitution, which also means the fulfillment of the essential mandate received by the Constituent Assembly from the electorate—the drafting and adoption of the country's new Constitution.

As I said during yesterday's meeting with the representatives of the political parties with deputies and senators in Romania's Parliament, I consider the new Constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly as the common work of all parliamentarians and political groupings represented in the Constituent Assembly, even of those who voted against it, because for more than a year the representatives of all groupings worked together—both in the Constituent Commission that first prepared the theses and then the text of the Constitution and then during parliamentary debates on the theses that lasted almost five months—and then on the final text, which lasted almost three months.

Moreover, as you well know, the final text of the Constitution took into consideration more than 1,000 amendments advanced by deputies and senators from various groupings; 155 of these amendments were eventually incorporated into the final draft, including 19 from the National Liberal Party [PNL], 10 from the UDMR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania], 10 from the National Peasant Party [PNT-cd], that is from groupings whose representatives largely voted against the Constitution. The reasons for the negative votes varied. There is no question of opposition to the idea of a constitution, as these people worked at and participated in its drafting; neither is it opposition to the constitution in general but, as you could see, there were various reasons. For instance, some people would have liked to have had a monarchy; others objected to several articles in the Constitution that dealt with the relationship between various elements of power, that is the relations between the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the judicial bodies; other objections related to the role of the presidential institution or the formulation of certain civic rights and freedoms.

In a democratic system and a democratic institution—given the fact that the drafting of the Constitution took place in the context of open debates—it is only natural to have different views on the subject. Therefore, it is not abnormal that there should be votes against the Constitution. Regarding the text of the constitution, it is obvious that everything can be improved. Had we continued this discussion, we might have certainly come up with new observations, amendments, and proposals for improvement. However, I believe that in the current framework, Romania's Constitution, as it was adopted by the Constituent Assembly, is a valuable document of reference, a democratic constitution meeting the most advanced international norms.

I would like to tell you that, from my meetings with foreign experts that visited our country and from my recent talks in Paris, many people who monitored the process of drafting Romania's Constitution had very positive opinions about the way in which the Constitution was worked out and about its contents. They expressed satisfaction at the adoption of the text of the new constitution by the Constituent Assembly.

Some people refer to this Constitution as being mine. My merit in the drafting of the Constitution is very modest and limited. I did not belong to the Constitutional Commission and did not participate in the parliamentary debates; therefore, people are rather exaggerating my contribution. The merit devolves on those who worked on this Constitution, primarily on those who belonged to the Constitutional Commission and carried out three months of scrupulous work in gathering information about our political traditions and about existing constitutions in other countries; these people also conducted long discussions with experts on contemporary trends in constitutional law. Likewise, the merit also devolves on those who directly participated in the debates on the theses, to begin with, and later on the final text of the Constitution. Therefore, I believe that our parliamentarians did not receive their due praise for the adoption of the country's Constitution.

I consider the adoption of the Constitution an historic moment in the country's life, since it marks the transition from a political and constitutional provisional stage to a new political stage of legal stability along the country's democratic development. After the December 1989 revolution, I consider the adoption of the country's new Constitution a most significant turning point. The Constitution lays the foundation for the consolidation of the democratic process and for the establishment of the state of law in Romania.

I noted in various commentaries that some people talk about the haste with which the Parliament adopted the Constitution. What kind of haste might that be? The 1923 Constitution was adopted in 16 days, not to mention other examples that I could give. On the contrary, I believe that Romania's Parliament carried out a most scrupulous and laborious work marked by several successive stages that I have already mentioned. So, there was no question of haste. On the contrary, it was a truly strenuous and democratic process of open discussion on both the contents of the Constitution and the ways and means of its drafting. In spite of controversies, which at

times became quite heated, one can say that the Constituent Assembly has carried out a constructive activity and completed a chapter of contemporary history.

I do not want to dwell now on the contents of the Constitution, since it is the duty of the press to cover that aspect; the members of the Constituent Commission have often dealt with it, and the debates on the Constitution were public, anyway. The press has already begun to present the contents of the Constitution to the country, and I hope that all our publications will facilitate the dissemination of this text among the people; the Parliament took the initiative of editing the constitution in a brochure that will be published in several hundreds of thousands of copies. However, the press must undoubtedly come to the support of this action. Last night, the television began a presentation of the text of the Constitution with commentaries. I believe it is quite important that the public should become familiar with the overall text of the Constitution.

Regarding the referendum, I agree with certain opinions that it was not really necessary to hold one. In this respect, the Constituent Assembly had a full mandate to work out and adopt the country's Constitution. However, the referendum decided by the Constituent Assembly is a form of exercise of the people's sovereignty, in accordance with Article 2 of the Constitution. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly considered the exercise of this right by the country's citizens as useful and necessary, to emphasize the political importance of the adoption of the new Constitution for the country. Consequently, it decided that the people should have their say on the Constitution.

Regardless of various stands vis-a-vis certain provisions of the Constitution, the important thing is that the state's basic law should receive popular endorsement. Therefore, it is important that this process should be adequately promoted in the next two weeks, and I call on the entire press to take an active interest in the issue and support the preparation and unfolding of the popular referendum on the Constitution.

And now, a few words about my contacts in Paris and the respective political events. The press, the radio, and the television have given them adequate coverage; therefore, I would just like to point out a few ideas. Concerning our presence at the meeting of the heads of state and government from French-speaking countries, I would like to point out the significance of Romania's presence at this event—something that was also emphasized during the meeting itself. On the one hand, this presence marked Romania's new opening toward the world and the changes that have occurred in the meantime and Romania's traditional vocation of contacts with the French-speaking world. At the same time, our presence at a meeting attended by 47 heads of state and government and other political figures was a useful opportunity for interesting political contacts with heads of state and important political figures. I do not want to dwell further on this aspect, as the press has adequately reported on all that.

I would just like to emphasize the importance of the signing of the treaty with France—which marks the interest of both sides in the development of bilateral relations and in the resumption of long-standing, traditional ties that are most important for our country in all planes—that is, in the economic, political, cultural, scientific, and human planes. I would also like to point out the place and role of these relations and of the signed document in the framework of the all-European processes and of the rapprochement between Eastern and Western European countries.

At the same time, I would like to say that this treaty is an integral part of our overall concern with concluding similar documents, both with our neighboring countries and with other European countries. For instance, Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis will visit our country this week, on which occasion we will sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation between our countries. In Paris, I had a meeting with Bulgarian President Zhelev, in which we noted the advanced stage of negotiations on a bilateral treaty that will be initialed by the two foreign ministers, after which it will be also signed by the heads of state.

Negotiations are under way for similar treaties with Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. As you know, we have already signed the treaties with Italy and Turkey. Several provisions of the treaty with the Soviet Union are being renegotiated, by also taking into consideration the changes that have taken place in the meantime. Today we are dealing with a different kind of state, the union of sovereign states, something that has yet to be defined. So, the renegotiation of the treaty is also due to this aspect and to certain provisions of Article 4 that, as we have said from the very start, will eventually have to be renegotiated through the adjustment of the expression of our common concern with ensuring mutual security and security with other former members of the Warsaw Pact. Discussions are continuing on this topic at the Foreign Ministry level. Likewise, we have contacts with the Russian Republic and the Ukraine, with which we will establish contacts and work out similar documents.

I consider all this an integral part of the overall orientation of our foreign policy in Europe and as a part of our efforts to establish relations of good neighborliness with our neighbors. I believe that this policy is and must be the common platform of all political forces in the country for the promotion of our national interests. This is the spirit in which I talked to the representatives of the political parties, to find ways and means for mutual briefings on these issues. As a matter of fact, a consultative council made up of representatives of the political parties was set up at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to discuss all major problems. Beyond political disputes and electoral or nonelectoral confrontations between

various political groups, which are quite normal in a democratic state, we should always be able to identify and point out the problems of national interest around which the most diverse political forces must act in a joint manner so as to serve these interests.

This is the introductory statement I wanted to make.

Responds to Reporters' Questions

AU2611184391

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1528 GMT carries a live relay of a news conference by President Ion Iliescu from Bucharest's Cotroceni Palace. Before answering questions, Iliescu makes an introductory statement on the "referendum of the Constitution and international issues."

The question-and-answer session begins with an exchange on the formulation and contents of Romania's Constitution and Iliescu's relations with former Prime Minister Petre Roman. In connection with the latter part of the question, Iliescu says: "I do not want to go into details," because "I do not want to get involved" in "artificially fanned polemics." He also says that, "for over a year now, I have not participated in the activity of the National Salvation Front."

Asked about the role of the Russian Republic in economic relations, in the light of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Romania in December, President Iliescu says that "in the future development of our relations" the "Russian Republic will probably play an important role, because it is the state with the richest resources." However, "the role of the Ukraine—our direct neighbor—is not less important," because of "its multiple economic possibilities and many of our relations with the Soviet Union" are "with economic enterprises in the Ukraine." Thus, "we pay attention to both these republics in our relations."

In connection with a question about possible UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia, and whether Romania will also send representatives, Iliescu emphasizes that "it depends on the development of things. We have followed and undoubtedly will continue to follow developments with concern and attention." If "both sides approach us for such assistance," then "we will support such an action."

Asked how the new Constitution will influence the political activity in Romania, Iliescu says: "We are entering" a "stabilization process" in the "political life" and the state's activity "on the basis of a fundamental law that meets all the requirements of a modern constitution."

In response to a question about the reason the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romanian [UDMR] voted against Romania's Constitution "although it guarantees minorities' rights," President Iliescu says: "It is the right of each individual to vote as he deems fit." The fact that "all UDMR representatives voted against" the Constitution "seems to me without any explanation." "I personally" think that "the Constitution meets major requirements," and as far as the UDMR is concerned, "the important problems of minorities' rights are reflected and are guaranteed by this Constitution."

Asked about the stage of "Romanian-American relations," Iliescu says, "I think that a number of positive developments have been noted of late. Maybe the most significant events are the signing by President Bush of the waiver, and thus the opening of credits for agricultural produce and foodstuffs, and a number of positive signs that have been noted in our direct contacts. I have also followed the hearings within the commissions of the House of Representatives and Senate in connection with the new ambassador, who is to arrive in our country, and it gave me pleasure to note certain positive aspects in connection with the assessment of political developments in our country and the desire—including by the U.S. Congress and the U.S. Administration—to support the improvement of relations between our countries. We view this as a positive development."

Asked about his talks in Paris with the future UN secretary general, Egypt's Butrus Ghali, Iliescu says: "The main subject of our discussion was bilateral relations between our two countries," and "the desire to strengthen those relations" at "the political and economic levels." We also "spoke about his candidacy to the position of UN secretary general"; "there is a real chance in this respect, and I assured him of our support."

To a question why he opts for parliamentary and presidential elections to be held at the same time, President Iliescu says that the "idea is to hold them at the same time to save both time and money."

In response to a question about the prospects of the conflict in Yugoslavia, Iliescu says, "It is difficult to assess the prospects of the conflict in Yugoslavia." If "both sides" are prepared to "start negotiations" then it is possible "to find solutions." "Foreign help is welcome," but "the will of the conflicting sides in Yugoslavia is decisive for finding solutions." In connection with Pastor Tokes's mention of such a syndrome in Romania, Iliescu says, "It is not the first time that he has made inflammatory statements." "There is nothing to compare between the situation in Yugoslavia and that in Romania."

To a question by the BBC representative about the renegotiation of certain provisions of the treaty with "the former Soviet Union," and whether it is opportune to "leave this up to the future government that will come into power after the elections," when bearing in mind "the provisional nature of the current government" and the fact "that Romania hastened to sign a treaty in April," that "today is useless, even from an economic viewpoint," Iliescu says that "I still think that from the point of view of its content, the respective treaty was a positive treaty, and it is in keeping with all the norms of international law and international documents that

govern the political activity on the continent and in the world today." The "only thing that was discussed was Point Four, regarding the participation or nonparticipation in hostile bodies or organizations for the other side." But as "I have said, aside from this, we have to jointly think things over, so that there is no imbalance in the wording" compared to "all the treaties with the former Warsaw Pact member countries." The "changes in the state structures of the former Soviet Union is a question that could not have been foreseen." "Undoubtedly, under the given conditions, it needs to be revised."

Asked whether Romania's relations with Arab countries will be given an impetus, President Iliescu says, "What affected us directly was the Gulf crisis," and thus "one of our main oil sources" was affected—"Iraq, but also Kuwait." "As you know," Iraq was delivering oil to our country "as part of repayment of its debt, which amounted to almost $2 billion." Otherwise, "we are trying to preserve relations with the Arab countries" and during the meetings I held, "I stressed this desire to create a proper framework to improve our relations in the future."

In connection with the 1 December referendum in the Ukraine, Iliescu says, "This referendum is taking place in the Ukraine in its structure of today." The intention exists "to prepare a document that is to note the destiny of certain territories that were included" in the Ukraine "in an abusive way as a result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact." "We want to maintain positive relations in the future with our neighbor, the Ukraine," but "we will pay attention to this question."

Asked by a journalist why he is being criticized by the press, Iliescu says, "No comment."

In connection with a question about the prospects of his cooperation with Prime Minister Stolojan, President Iliescu says that "things are relative; what does long-distance mandate mean? My mandate will take exactly two years. This is the term for which both the parliament and the president were elected." The fact that "a government team was changed in this period, is not a unique case in history. There are states" where such changes took place "even under normal conditions." "My cooperation with the Stolojan government is very good. I cooperate positively with anyone. I appreciate the efforts made by Prime Minister Stolojan personally and those by the government he formed. The task is not easy at all. It is a government that is going through a very difficult time, especially in the economic area." Iliescu concludes by saying, "It is not easy for the government to seek solutions to all problems."

PNT-cd Urges Electorate To Reject Constitution

AU2611193091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1701 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/11/1991—The Executive and Control Bureau of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [PNT-cd] sent to the ROMPRES news agency a communique which specifies the main objections this party has in connection with the voting of the Constitution by the parliamentary majority.

It shows that the new Constitution sets republic as the government form in Romania without a previous consultation of the people, it does not specify clearly the separation of powers in the state, and the powers given to the president are too great for a country trying to get out of totalitarianism, the Constitutional Court made up of nine members is a superposition of the executive and legislative over the judicial power and the revision of the constitution will be almost impossible.

These are some of the reasons why the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party parliamentarians voted against the Constitution in its present form and, therefore, the PNT-cd leadership recommends all the citizens to reject it, the communique further reads.

UDMR Issues Communique on Constitution

AU2711101091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0858 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/11/1991—A communique on the ordinary meeting of the National Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) held in Cluj on November 26 sent to ROMPRES reads:

The presidium discussed the political consequences of the activity of the self-named "Szeckler Political Group" in the presence of its representatives. In addition to previously taken stands the UDMR National Presidium was informed about the statement whereby it results that the group dissolved itself.

The communique records "all the calumnies and groundless attacks against the UDMR representatives and more particularly against its honorary president, Laszlo Tokes."

As for the endorsement of Romania's new Constitution, the presidium expresses agreement with the stand and decision of the UDMR senators and deputies and invites the members of the Union to take part in the referendum and vote in keeping with their own option and conscience. Likewise, the presidium decided that the UDMR symbol for the local elections be the same used in the May 20, 1990 elections.

Civic Alliance President on Movement's Activity

AU2611125691 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 23 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Civic Alliance President Ana Blandiana by Paul Dobrescu; place and date not given: "From Politics I Took Over Only the Struggle"]

[Text] [Dobrescu] These days the Civic Alliance is marking one year since it was set up. In what way is this movement

distributed throughout the country and what tendencies can one notice in the evolution of the movement?

[Blandiana] The Alliance has organized not only rallies, as the television believes, but has also set up branches. Currently, the Civic Alliance has branches in all counties of our country, many branches, and they are not only at the county level but also at the town and village level, as well. In certain counties that are situated mainly in a hilly or mountainous area, such as Suceava, we can say that we have scores of rural branches. Thus, this is what we have organized on a horizontal level, while on a vertical level, we have seen to it that in all committees we have various departments operating such as: agricultural, cultural, social, and social protection departments and commissions, the most important of them I believe is the committee against abuses.

You have asked me what we have done but not what we intend to do.

[Dobrescu] Please tell us a few of these dreams....

[Blandiana] You see, throughout the past year we had to and unfortunately in the years to come we will have to halt our educational work and deal with very urgent and pressing matters. Within our prospects of long-term education certainly our biggest illusion is that we are going to transform the Romanian electorate in a way that each person will know that the destiny of the country depends on his vote and that it is he who votes for somebody and that he can also remove that person; he should also understand that he is not electing a master but a servant. When all Romanians, including those who do not speak French, understand that the etymological meaning of the word minister is servant, I believe the Civic Alliance can stop its activity. I only dream of the moment when the Civic Alliance is dissolved in a festive way because it no longer has any goal.

[Dobrescu] In general there is the impression that the Alliance includes mainly intellectuals, which could lend it a certain elite-type character. Is it true? If yes, are there concerns to turn the Alliance into a representative social movement?

[Blandiana] I cannot tell you whether the Alliance includes mainly intellectuals. Maybe it is true. However, this does not mean that our movement does not include workers or peasants, too. I rather believe that I am to blame for this impression. Then, back in November, when we published the Declaration of principles regarding the establishment of the Alliance, those who signed the document were the heads of the arts and sciences in our country. I insisted on that direction because I wanted to make it clear that our organization was not one of the innumerable organizations that had been set up until that day, and the presence of well-known and acknowledged intellectuals was a very important argument. This led to the impression that this is an organization of top intellectuals and it was not noticed that the "15 November" trade union, which includes exclusively workers, was also among the initiators of this movement. As a matter of fact, we have branches like those in Sibiu or Tulcea which are led by workers.

[Dobrescu] How do you think that the Romanian electorate will get through this winter?

[Blandiana] Obviously radicalized. I only hope that nothing more serious will happen. Thus, I hope that the Romanian society will change through elections and in no other way, namely not in a violent way.

Among the current duties of the Alliance, there is the one to make people understand a very important thing, the fact that having a terribly difficult life is not a motive to oppose the reform: without the reform we cannot advance and only through it can we hope that we will be able to reach a normal life.

[Dobrescu] Mrs. Blandiana, a few month ago the results of a public opinion poll in connection with the "University Square" were published. I was impressed by the fact that a number of personalities of our cultural life—among them you, too—who experienced those events, lost ground as far as public appreciation is concerned. What do you think about the social group that lost their trust in you?

[Blandiana] I believe those are the people who became the victims of the propaganda against the "University Square." It is well known that the provinces, watching the University Square only through the eyes of the television, believed that it was an area full of drugs, naked women, and other incredible things. You can ask me how I feel about people who believe such things. I only have a feeling of compassion for such people.

[Dobrescu] As far as I understand, you explain everything through the negative effect of the distorted perception of the "University Square" phenomenon. Can you not find an explanation in the political speeches delivered by you or by other personalities?

[Blandiana] In no way, as far as I am concerned. I spoke twice in the University Square and I believe that each time I was very moderate. In general, the most radical thing in the University Square was Point 8 of the Timisoara Proclamation, which was a very moderate and humble request.

[Dobrescu] What relation do you see between poetry and politics, from the point of view of your personal experience and whether the past one and a half year period was also favorable for poetry?

[Blandiana] As far as I am concerned it was favorable for prose. I finished a novel entitled "A Drawer Full of Applause," which I recently handed over to the publisher. But in order to answer your question, I should first of all make a remark. From politics I took over only the struggle, but poetry does not exclude struggle either.

Spiroiu on Hungarian Relations, Vatra Ties to Army

LD2611194591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0750 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Interview with Defense Minister Nicolae Spiroiu by reporter Levente Sukosd; place and date not given—recorded; Spiroiu speaks in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Sukosd] Mr. Minister, what is the significance, and what can be the significance, in the area of Hungarian-Romanian relations, of the open skies Hungarian-Romanian military agreement, over and above the specific issue of overflights?

[Spiroiu] I think it could serve as an example for other countries. It can be evaluated as a sign of trust and openness. It is regrettable that, due to the parliamentary debates connected with the new Constitution, the agreement's ratification has not yet come on the agenda, but in all probability this will also happen. I consider this to be very essential. Not long ago, we agreed with Defense Minister Lajos Fur that even closer cooperation would be needed between the two armies. We considered that seminars at an international level, joint seminars, should be organized for the various experts of our armies.

[Sukosd] I see a certain contradiction between the optimism suggested by the agreement and the fact that, according to more than one source, reports are continuing to come in from Covasna and Harghita counties that low-level flying by military helicopters is continuing and reports of troop concentrations have also been received. How do you explain this situation?

[Spiroiu] In my opinion, your information is wrong. We have not carried out any kind of troop concentration. However, it is true that this year we have succeeded in resuming military maneuvers in which armored and airborne units have been taking equal part but, naturally, not to a significant degree. These maneuvers have been made necessary by the fact that, in the past years, Romania was no longer taking part in the joint maneuvers of the Warsaw Pact and, at the same time, because also under the past regime, the army was neglected. For the most part, it served as a workforce in the various branches of the national economy. Perhaps the simplest explanation is the fact that this year we possessed the fuel for these maneuvers.

There has been a certain agitation, misinterpretation, in the press, according to which the overflights have only occurred in Harghita and Covasna counties. This does not reflect reality. In the Romanian press, we announced in advance where we were holding military maneuvers. These extended to the country's entire territory.

[Sukosd] More and more politicians and personalities from public life observe with anxiety that the Vatra Romaneasca cultural organization is exerting an ever greater influence within the Romanian Army. This influence is mostly of a political nature, since Vatra Romaneasca is urging the political and historical reeducation of the officer corps. This influence is being asserted mostly within the Transylvanian Army Corps. To my knowledge, Army personnel cannot take part in any movement or organization of a political nature

[Spiroiu] We cannot talk about a fusion between Vatra Romaneasca and the Army. It is true that, at many events of this cultural organization, soldiers also helped in patriotic education, but this does not mean that there are Vatra Romaneasca organizations within the Army. We do not even accept this sort of thing. What is more, we have called on the members of our Army not to take part in the activity of organizations that have also formed political parties. I find that my instructions are being observed.

On the other hand, I cannot deny that there are events and activities of a nature that are connected with political training and historical education. In Transylvania, where in certain circles the issue of Transylvania's affiliation comes up from time to time, we have to take into account the population's emotional reactions, which naturally also have an effect on the Army. But we strive to reduce such and similar phenomena, since Transylvania's affiliation cannot be the subject of debate. In this, we also agreed with Geza Domokos, chairman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania.

[Sukosd] The local authority elections are approaching. Will the number of soldiers stationed in Transylvania be increased for the period of the elections?

[Spiroiu] There is no question of this. We, together with the government, would like these elections to be really free elections. For this reason, the Army will have to play the role, in cooperation with the forces of order, of guaranteeing peace and calm. There is, however, no need for further troop concentrations. I even consider it conceivable that in Harghita and Covasna counties, special leave will be granted to those soldiers who would like to vote in their places of domicile.

[Sukosd] And one last question. Were there any military aspects to last week's Romanian-Serb discussions held in Bucharest?

[Spiroiu] No, they did not have military connections of this kind. Romania's role, in our opinion, is to reduce the tension that can be felt in the region by not selling arms to the warring sides. The rumors connected with this are merely figments of the imagination.

Experts Examine Reports on Paper Shortage

AU2611192891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1706 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/11/1991—The analysis initiated by Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan at the appeal the press launched in connection with the

rise of the paper price continued in the morning of Tuesday [26 November] with decision makers in the Ministries of Economy and Finances, of Transport, of Communications, of the Environment and Culture as well as with experts in the governmental departments of social-political studies and information.

They examined the reports made by experts and, in the shortest possible time, a synthesis should be released. The prime minister demanded that the document should include data on the prices of paper, of technological flows as well as on the reequipment possibilities at the Letea factory in Bacau, the only factory in the country manufacturing paper for newspapers. That synthesis should also include viable proposals for both the equipment of the printing houses with new installations and the improvement of the distribution system—Rodipet being now in the attention of the National Privatisation Agency.

Decision was made that in its final stage the synthesis be put at the disposal of the Journalists' Society of Romania and of the Romanian Journalists' Association for analysis and release.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Release of Diplomat

AU2611125991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1041 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/11/1991—Highlighting with great joy the news of release of Mr. Liviu Radu, councillor with the Romanian Embassy in New Delhi, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania notes in a statement released in Bucharest that "reason has ultimately prevailed in the stand of the kidnappers who realized that the abduction, detention and threat at the life of an innocent man and, the more so, of a foreign citizen, was a unanimously blamable act, a contraproductive action that, in fact, runs counter even to the moral precepts advocated by the Sikh militants."

"We deem it our duty," the statement reads, "to most sincerely thank the governments, international organizations, nongovernment organizations, the representatives of parties and political and nonpolitical organizations, of cults, numerous Romanian and foreign citizens who firmly spoke up in defence of the life and freedom of Mr. Liviu Radu, unreservedly disapproving of the terrorist act the victim of which the Romanian diplomat was."

The Romanian Foreign Ministry emphasizes in its statement "particularly the efforts made by the Indian Government, the very elaborate operations conducted by the competent bodies in that country to the end of ensuring Mr. Liviu Radu's release."

"The happy end of Mr. Liviu Radu's ordeal, his reunion with the family and colleagues are gladdening. This however cannot make us forget about the dangers still spelt at those that are employed in public offices because some persons are tempted to seek settlement of various issues by resorting to violence, disregarding the generally accepted norms of moral conduct in society, as well as in interstate relations."

International

Italian Ship Brings Relief Supplies to Dubrovnik

AU2711113491 Rome ANSA in English 1021 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Dubrovnik, November 26 (ANSA)—The Italian ferry Palladio docked this afternoon in the port of Dubrovnik after being thoroughly inspected by Yugoslav federal authorities in the port of Zelenika, in Montenegro.

The ship was carrying urgent relief supplies, including drinking water food and blankets, for the residents of the besieged Croatian city and is slated to bring back to Italy over a thousand evacuees, mostly women and children.

Federal authorities have slapped tight restrictions on who can evacuate demanding that there be no male between the ages of 18 and 60 years and those injured must specify how, when and where they received their wounds. The Palladio, in fact, must return for inspection in Zelenika before returning to Italy.

Federal authorities made it clear that, should Croatian militiamen be found on board, the ferry will not be allowed to go out to sea.

The Palladio was met on its arrival in Dubrovnik by the UNICEF envoy Stefano de Mistura who, for his part, affirmed that the cease-fire is holding and negotiations between city officials and the federal Army continue. Both sides, he added, agree on the need to demilitarize the port city but not on how this must be done.

Meanwhile, life in Dubrovnik appears to be showing the first signs of a slow return to normality, although the availability of fuels and electricity has not been restored and drinking water can only be found from tanker trucks. The city's residents, De Mistura said, appear to be relieved that a humanitarian channel has been opened and hope to see the deployment soon of UN peace-keeping troops.

The mission of the Palladio is part of the so-called "Operation Margherita," organized by Rome to bring relief to civilians displaced by Yugoslavia's civil war, and was requisitioned Sunday by the immigration, civil protection and foreign ministries. The rescue operation is named after Italian immigration minister Margherita Boniver, who in recent weeks personally accompanied relief missions to Yugoslavia.

Croatian Delegation Departs for Libya 26 Nov

LD2611123491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] A delegation of the Croatian Government left this morning on an official and working visit to the Libyan Jamahiriyah. The delegation comprises Croatian Vice Premier Jurica Pavelic, government member Muhamed Zulic, and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Croatian Democratic Community Slavko Degoricija. Their attention will be focused on economic issues, but they are expected to have talks with their hosts about other forms of cooperation and the diplomatic recognition of the Republic of Croatia. During their two-day visit to Tripoli the delegation will be received by President al-Qadhdafi.

NATO Delegation Pays Visit to Slovenia

AU2611145791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] A delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly, which is a parliamentary body of the NATO Pact, paid a visit to Slovenia today. Edo Zitnik reports that the head of the delegation, Lord Lucas from Great Britain, admitted at the midday news conference that his delegation was in fact only one of the delegations of the Assembly's subcommissions. Its intention was to become acquainted with the situation in Slovenia, and particularly in Croatia. However, they have explicitly stressed they have neither the authority nor the power to influence the events in Yugoslavia in any way. Lord Lucas repeated a well-known position that not even NATO can help resolve the Yugoslav crisis until the sides in dispute agree to it. The Slovene side—they were also received by Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency—briefed the delegation about the situation in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia. As Matjaz Sinkovec, president of the Assembly Commission for International Relations, who was the host of the delegation said, the talks did not broach the possibility of Slovenia's membership in NATO.

Federal

Chamber Session Opens; No Decision on Markovic

LD2711112991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—A session pf the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber is under way. Despite a debate which went on for an hour delegates have thus far failed to decide whether to include on the agenda a vote of confidence in Ante Markovic, the president of the Federal Executive Council. At its session on 15 November the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces passed a no-confidence vote in the federal prime minister. Under the procedure book, the Federal Chamber also must give its stand on the issue. In addition, a group of the Federal Chamber delegates has put forward a proposal for a vote of confidence in the Federal Government.

Ante Markovic is not attending the Federal Chamber session today.

Spokesman Says Markovic's Fall Could End Crisis

LD2611195191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1748 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 26 (TANJUG)—Head of the Yugoslav Government Secretariat for Information Mustafa Cengic said today that a "vote of no confidence to

the Federal Government and Prime Minister Ante Markovic could perhaps speed up the process of resolving the Yugoslav crisis, but in the most dramatic fashion and with serious consequences."

At a press conference Cengic expressed hope that "an awareness of such consequences would prevail among those making the decision."

The Yugoslav bicameral parliament's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, carried a vote of no confidence to Markovic on November 15. It was announced that the Federal Chamber would discuss the issue on Wednesday [27 November].

Cengic said that Markovic's participation at the Federal Chamber's session was an open question.

Answering questions on splits in the Federal Government, Cengic said that they were not suprising considering the situation in the country. He specified that the disunity had resulted over political questions and the Army's participation in the resolving of the crisis, but that there was unity over global issues.

Commenting the Croatian State Council's decision to withdraw Croats from federal institutions in order that they might be engaged in Croatia, Cengic said that as long as Ante Markovic and the Federal Government existed, so did Yugoslavia. He said that Markovic was an obstacle to "hegemonistic and separatist options, making the achievement of their goals much harder."

Procedure for Electing Prime Minister Detailed

LD2611150691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1341 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By Zoran V. Sekulic]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 26 (TANJUG)—The procedure for electing Yugoslavia's new prime minister, started by the Federal Presidency some ten days ago, seems to have entered calmer waters after the initial turmoil.

Although Presidency Vice-President Branko Kostic had announced that the composition of the new government would be made public last Thursday [21 November], so far only Serbia's Province of Vojvodina has nominated Stanko Radmilovic as its candidate for mandatary.

The other Yugoslav republics either do not have or do not wish to have their candidates. Slovenia, Macedonia and Serbia have not even responded to the Presidency yet.

Slovenia's position on electing the new prime minister is easy to guess. Macedonia describes the procedure as illegal and illegitimate.

Serbia's reluctance to come out with its proposal appears to be motivated by tactical reasons, since the largest number of candidates for prime minister are being unofficially mentioned precisely in this republic.

Analysts say that things may become clearer already tomorrow, when the Federal Chamber of Yugoslavia's bicameral parliament is to take a confidence vote in Prime Minister Ante Markovic. Unlike the other chamber, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, which already gave Markovic a no-confidence vote, rumour has it that the Federal Chamber has no intention of making any hasty decisions.

The Federal Chamber last week postponed the vote for its session tomorrow, although it had been expected to take place at that session.

Some developments concerning the position of the current prime minister and possible elevation of his successor are certainly taking place behind the scenes. This conclusion may be drawn from scarce unofficial reports—which have not be denied, however—about Markovic's meetings with Federal Presidency Vice-President Kostic and Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic. The meeting with the latter reportedly took place at Milosevic's request.

Unofficial analyses from well-informed sources, who say that the toppling of Markovic at this moment would provoke negative reactions in the international community, also indicate manoeuvring and procrastination in this regard. This may put off his replacement, at least until a U.N. peacekeeping force has arrived in Yugoslavia.

It should not be ruled out that the Federal Presidency, which was exposed to direct pressures from abroad to abandon its proposal for starting the election procedure for a new prime minister, may now refrain from pressing for Markovic's replacement despite loud demands from various sides. The reason perhaps lies in the wish to refrain from doing anything which might jeopardize the action initiated at the U.N. Security Council.

It is interesting to note that the Defence Ministry, one of the government's key ministries, has remained silent as to the proposals for Markovic's replacement, especially in view of the fact that under the Federal Constitution the replacement of the prime minister implies the resignation of his entire cabinet.

Constitutional Official on Assembly's Legality

LD2611173991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 26 (TANJUG)—Secretary of the Constitutional Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly Radovan Sturanovic said today that Yugoslavia might not cease to exist by the will of only some of its peoples, that is, without the agreement of all its peoples. Since such an agreement does not exist, "the organs of the existing and internationally recognized state of the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) can legally function and make decisions without the representatives of those peoples who had initiated

the process of separating from the SFRY state by their own decisions," it is pointed out in his statement to TANJUG.

The statement is a reaction to the announcement by president of the Macedonian parliamentary delegation Petar Gosev, saying that the representatives of this Yugoslav delegation will not attend tomorrow the session of the Yugoslav bicameral Assembly's Federal Chamber which should decide on confidence in Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

The Assembly's other chamber, of the Republics and Provinces, denied confidence to Markovic about ten days ago. The decision was made without the participation of all the members, since some republics do not want any longer to take part in the chamber's work.

In his statement yesterday, Gosev underlined that "every formation of a new federal government is for Macedonia illegal and will represent the existence of double governments at that level."

Sturanovic today said that Gosev, by his statement, "does not abide by either Constitution of the SFRY or the significant decisions which have been made on referendums by the Slovenian, Croatian and Macedonian peoples, regarding the creation of their independent states."

Sturanovic considers that federal organs should negotiate with the representatives of those three peoples on the common controversial questions, including the international community's arbitration.

FEC To Publicize Activities, Plans

AU2611181791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The Federal Executive Council [FEC] has decided to publicize documents and facts about its activities. It was motivated to make this move by its feeling of responsibility to the domestic and world public. This was done at a news conference held by Mustafa Cengic, spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Information. These documents have also been submitted to the SFRY Assembly. Here is a report by Olivija Rusovac:

[Begin recording] [Rusovac] The Federal Executive Council and its president have no intention of defending themselves from blanket accusations and fabrications, nor of responding to accusations of a group of Federal Chamber delegates contained in the group's initiative on withdrawing confidence from the Federal Executive Council and Ante Markovic. The government also cannot accept the way confidence was withdrawn from it by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, Mustafa Cengic said.

In reply to this correspondent's question on what the Federal Government and Ante Markovic will do if the Federal Chamber withdraws confidence from them, Cengic said the following:

[Cengic] I can say that if confidence is withdrawn from Ante Markovic's government, that may even accelerate the process of solving the Yugoslav (?drama). However, this process would probably be much more dramatic, would probably have much more serious consequences than today, and would certainly be much more uncertain. Economic consequences would be drastic. This has been recently been extensively discussed. For this reason, one can justifiably expect the awareness of such consequences and of possible ensuing events to prevail also among those people who should make certain decisions.

[Rusovac] Here are some other replies to journalists' questions. At the Geneva meeting, Ante Markovic was granted a conditional confidence of foreign countries which, according to Cengic, means that foreign countries conditioned Ante Markovic's remaining on duty on the continuation of negotiations and on the engagement of the international community in solving the Yugoslav crisis.

It is not known what Ante Markovic and Slobodan Milosevic talked about in a tete-a-tete conversation held immediately before the trip to Geneva, but it is known that the talk took place at Milosevic's initiative.

Budimir Loncar said before that he would definitely leave the government, and this is also shown by the fact that he either postponed or called off all important meetings. This can have consequences for peace, Cengic said and added that he does not believe that Ante Markovic will attend the Federal Chamber session tomorrow. [end recording]

Slovenia

Kucan Urges Macedonia To Recognize Slovenia

LD2611165491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, today sent a letter to the president of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, proposing officially that competent bodies of the Republic of Macedonia recognize the Republic of Slovenia as a sovereign state and as an international and legal entity.

The letter expresses the willingness of the Slovene Presidency to set in motion a procedure for the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia in the republic Assembly.

"You are aware that the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia endorsed a constitutional declaration on the independence and autonomy of the Republic of Slovenia on 25 June 1991. In line with this decision, an independent and autonomous Slovene state was constituted. The Republic of Slovenia has taken over full sovereignty and effective authority over its entire territory.

"Units of the former Yugoslav People's Army have withdrawn from the Slovene territory. Through its 25 June decision, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia

has exerted the right to self- determination which belongs to this nation. On the same occasion, the Assembly has explicitly affirmed that the setting-up of an independent and autonomous Slovene state is aimed against no one either in Yugoslavia or abroad", Kucan's letter to Gligorov states.

"The Republic of Slovenia wishes to develop and deepen fruitful relations with all countries which would be based on mutual trust and interests. In relations with all republics within former SFRY the Republic of Slovenia has many times expressed its readiness for negotiations on future cooperation and the free flow of goods, people, ideas, preservation of environment and on all other areas of mutual interest.

"I am proposing to you that a competent body of the autonomous and independent Republic of Macedonia recognize the Republic of Slovenia as a sovereign state with an international legal status. I am expressing the readiness that exists on the part of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia to initiate in the Slovene Assembly a procedure for the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia as an independent and sovereign state in case that as regards this intention of ours we get your consent.

"Proceeding from the aforementioned, Slovenia wishes to establish diplomatic relations with your state as soon as possible. The mutual recognition and the establishment of representative offices would be, according to my stong belief, beneficial for the cooperation between our two states," says the letter which Milan Kucan sent to Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov today.

Minister Views Openness of Hungarian Border

AU2611190791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Nov 91 p 11

[Interview with Slovene Agricultural Minister Joze Osterc by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "MH-Interview"]

[Text] [MAGYAR HIRLAP] Is it a possibility that the kind of open border that is typical in West Europe will first be established at this short section of the border?

[Osterc] I hope that there will be a great development. Our Austrian and Italian borders have been quite open, but I more or less know the Hungarian section. Here, too, our aim is to implement a European type border by establishing the conditions in the areas along the border and by providing a perspective for people living there. I am convinced that satisfied people are the best guardians of borders. At the same time, a bridge that cannot be replaced by anything else will evolve.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] How much time is needed to implement all this?

[Osterc] I could not say exactly, but the honest and open relations experienced today will probably shorten this period. It is inconceivable that a border, through which the Slovenes transport their produce from their rented allotments in Hungary, was not open. When we decided to respect the European norms on national minorities, we also accepted direct links with the mother country. This can only be done through open borders.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] The moment our borders become open in this way, the conflicts that make our region tense may cease....

[Osterc] I admit that the openness of the border has a great impact on removing the obstacles of cooperation. Slovenia wishes to proceed in this direction and is taking further steps to achieve this.

Croatia

Tudjman Urges Concrete Action From Europe, U.S.

PM2711112491 Paris LE MONDE in French 27 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Yves Heller in Zagreb on 25 November—recorded]

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is bitter, disappointed in the paralysis of the international community, of both Europe and the United States, which have been generous in words but miserly with concrete moves to end the war in Croatia.

At the rate at which the Yugoslav Army, dominate by the Serbs, is gaining ground—despite the cease-fire accords—Mr. Tudjman knows that his days are numbered. In an interview granted to LE MONDE 25 November—as the 14th truce established since the start of the war (for the first time under UN auspices) was about to go the same way as the previous 13—he issued an urgent appeal for the blue helmets to intervene. To end "this war and to avert destruction," the blue helmets—whose intervention has been accepted by all the sides in the conflict—should arrive "within a week, or two weeks at the latest," Mr. Tudjman said. But, he complained, "the leaders in Belgrade and the Army think that their deployment will not take place in less than about six weeks, which is why they have decided to take the maximum possible territory within the next 25 days."

If federal troops continue to step up their pressure on Croatia, "we will continue our defensive war; we will strive to prevent them from taking whatever they want," he said, but added: "We are well aware that the Army is too strong and that we cannot prevent them from doing what they are doing."

This, even though a Croatian counteroffensive is feasible "in certain places, in some parts of the country. Of course, only if the Army continues (the fighting). Otherwise, we want to observe the cease-fire."

Be that as it may, President Tudjman, a former general in the Yugoslav Army, said, it is not UN forces that will restore peace. "It is the position of Europe and the

United States that could prevent Belgrade and Serbia from continuing this war. As for the number of blue helmets, I think some 10,000 men would be enough." The Croatian president continued: "The blue helmets' arrival is a technical matter. The essential thing is for the French president, the American President, and other European presidents to make Serbia understand that it cannot carry on behaving that way"—with impunity, that is.

However, President Tudjman has no illusions about the international community's ability to act. After months of vain attempts by Europe to stop the war, "the Croatian population are very disappointed and very dissatisfied, because all this (the loss of human life and the destruction) is due to Europe's disagreements and indecision. Moreover, the representatives of some countries have said that there will be no (foreign) military intervention in Yugoslavia; this, of course, has merely encouraged the aggressor."

On what can Croatia depend, and of what must it be suspicious? "Everyone claims to be Croatia's friend, but nobody takes the decisive step that would prevent Croatia (from continuing its aggression). Croatia has been abandoned and is forced to fight alone, with its bare hands, disarmed against the Yugoslav Army.... Nobody can deny that democracy exists in Croatia; so in words everyone supports Croatia, but in deeds it is a different matter." "Apart from declarations," Croatia has not obtained anything, despite the visits by Zagreb's emissaries to the European capitals and Washington to "inform the whole world and to request aid—concrete aid to stop this war."

President Tudjman is hardly any more indulgent with the United States than he is with the Europeans. Washington, he said, is waiting "for Europe to be threatened, for conflicts to break out there, before making an appearance." The United States, which is undoubtedly "the principal force in the world," has issued "very resolute statements against Serbia," the American Congress has condemned the Serbian aggression, and the administration has sent some "very important people to Croatia." "All this does have its political significance, it is important at the political level. But as president, I am criticized by the public, by ordinary people, for continuing to negotiate with Europe and the United States while the war continues."

"This war is not only a war to defend Croatian territory, Croatian democracy, the Croatian people's desire for self-determination. The Croatian people are a small people, but one of the most ancient. We have writers contemporary with Moliere who have been translated into French. So we are defending our right to self-determination, but at the same time we are defending Europe against the restoration of communism. This, because the Yugoslav Army leaders were in direct contact, very closely connected, with the putschists in the USSR" (who tried to oust President Gorbachev.)

As for the "human corridors" advocated by President Mitterrand and France's secretary of state for humanitarian action, Bernard Kouchner, which the Europeans are trying with difficulty to establish, "they are welcome, but not much has yet been done and, moreover, they do not resolve the problem. Europe and the rest are pretending to do something, but actually they are not doing what they should do. We are grateful on behalf of all the wounded and refugees. However, it would a bad thing if Europe were to believe that it has fulfilled its role" with the humanitarian corridors.

Separovic Briefs Journalists on Visits, Talks

LD2611154191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] In an (?orderly) world borders cannot be changed. Therefore, Croatia too will not accept that, Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic said at a news conference today. He briefed domestic and foreign journalists on talks he recently had in Vienna, Bonn, Prague, and Warsaw. He said that the focus of attention during these talks was the question of war and peace, the recognition of Croatia as an international entity, a peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav crisis, and having peacekeeping forces in our country. We shall guarantee all minorities' rights which are widely recognized, and we shall also guarantee those rights which are specific for our country and which stem from the Hague documents, Minister Separovic said.

Legal secession is not possible according to international norms, and therefore Croatia, too, will not recognize that secession when it comes to some possible demands within the framework of its state territory. He also said that Croatia does not wish to accept the peacekeeping forces on the front line, but on the constitutional borders of the Republic of Croatia.

Regarding the forthcoming meeting of the Twelve in The Netherlands town of Maastricht, Minister Separovic said it is an historic moment for Europe, although it is being held at a time when war is raging in its heartland. Of course, we expect peacekeeping forces in our homeland, sanctions, and positive measures toward some of the Yugoslav republics to be discussed.

Minister Separovic also said that Dubrovnik has been damaged but not demolished. The world must know that it was not only the inhabitants of Dubrovnik who suffered, the inhabitants of Vukovar suffered even more: not only beautiful churches in Dubrovnik were destoryed, but around 300 churches throughout Croatia were demolished.

Minister Separovic also denied that there is any appendix to The Hague agreement regulating the rights of minorities on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Party of Rights' Paraga Continues To Be Detained

Paraga Writes Letter to Tudjman

LD2711103391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0821 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—"Monstrous are your accusations and unbelievable your claims that in cooperation with the federal Army I tried to dismantle constitutional order in Croatia," Dobroslav Paraga, president of the Croatian Party of Rights [CPR], writes from detention. In a lengthy letter to Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, Paraga points out that accusations against him are "a wicked Stalinist type of indictment."

"On this occasion you cannot invoke the independence of the judiciary and prosecutors," Paraga says. "I know very well that it was you, personally, who ordered my arrest," Paraga, who was arrested several times in the last ten years for so-called "verbal offenses," writes.

"My arrest and annihilation will not help you buy international recognition for Croatia. Rather, you will become hated in Croatia as a dictator," Paraga continues. "Do not cause a new 'night of long knives' here in Croatia. You must not—because of our growing influence in Croatia—accuse us of wanting to topple the regime. Such accusations are designed solely to transfer the blame for military defeats to your political opponents," the CPR president says.

Referring to accusations against Lieutenant Colonel Mile Dedakovic, commander of the Vukovar defenses, Paraga says in his letter that "if it were not for them in Vukovar and Vinkovci, that battle would have been lost a long time ago."

In conclusion, Dobroslav Paraga calls on Tudjman to "redress the injustice" and ends his letter with the slogan "God and Croatians—ready to defend our home" [Bog i Hrvat—za dom spremni, an Ustashe slogan from World War II].

Opposition Demands Paraga's Release

LD2611223491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1824 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Croatian opposition parliamentary parties today asked the judiciary immediately to release on bail Dobroslav Paraga, chairman of the Croatian Party of Rights.

The opposition assessed the Geneva cease-fire agreement as a step forward because, they said, it was also signed by the United Nations, and through the United Nations the United States as well, whereby that country assumes responsibility for the solution of the problem in the Yugoslav area.

The representativea of the opposition parties also asked the president of the republic, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, to report to the Sabor on the peace conference and on the international position of Croatia. They also asked that during its next session the Croatian Sabor should debate the deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia.

Party Members Protest, Arrested

LD2711104291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0858 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—Following a gathering in Zagreb last night organized by the Croatian Party of Rights [CPR] to protest the arrest of CPR President Dobroslav Paraga, 17 members of the Croatian Defense Forces [Hrvatske Obrambene Snage—HOS], which is part of the CPR, were detained by the Zagreb police.

According to the police, the protest, which took place at Ban Jelacic square, was not registered with the police. In addition, the police claim that security measures were taken in response to reports about possible incidents during the meeting. All those detained were HOS members dressed in camouflage uniforms and armed. Charges have been brought against two people for the illegal possession of weapons. Except for those two, the others were released after being interviewed by the police. Proceedings will be instituted against them for disrupting public peace and order. At the same time, several people have also been detained for distributing CPR leaflets and membership applications.

Ramljak Demands Government Representative Release

LD2711000691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Croatian Deputy Premier Dr. Milan Ramljak has sent a letter to General Andrija Raseta, deputy commander of the Fifth Army District, which contains a protest and asks the appropriate Yugoslav People's Army organs immediately to release Marin Vidric-Bili, the Croatian Government representative. Mr. Marin Vidric-Bili, a Croatian Government plenipotentiary representative, was taken captive in Vukovar barracks on 10 November 1991.

Radio Vukovar Plans To Begin Broadcasting Again

LD2711001791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1659 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Vukovar, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—In a few days' time, Radio Vukovar will start broadcasting again, Vukovar territorial defense commander's assistant for information Ljubinko Stojanovic told TANJUG journalists today. This radio station resisted "Croatization" for a long time. When it eventually, at the beginning of this year, was renamed Croatian Radio Vukovar, all Serbs left the editorial offices. During hostilities, Croatian Radio Vukovar moved to a private house from which it broadcast programs for which all Serbs say were pro-Ustasha. The Society of Croatian Journalists recently raised an initiative for the salvation of the editor of Croatian Radio Vukovar, Sinisa Glavasevic, who was thought to have been arrested and that he was in

Sremska Mitrovica. TANJUG journalists could not obtain any details on that, but there is an unofficial presumption that Glavasevic was killed while holding arms defending the ideas that he had been disseminating on the radio. Radio Vukovar equipment will be examined in the forthcoming days and Belgrade will be asked to provide help for its repairs. We wish to start broadcasting as soon as possible, at least for an hour, in order to encourage those who wish to start living here again after terrible suffering and bloodshed, Stojanovic said.

Serbia

Government Cites Steps To Counter EC Sanctions

LD2611211291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2002 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 26 (TANJUG)—Vice Premier of Serbia Nikola Stanic said today that it is of exceptional importance that the Yugoslav Presidency plays a very active role in the United Nations Security Council in order to prevent the introduction of an oil embargo against Yugoslavia.

Speaking before deputies of the republican parliament on the consequences of E.C. economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, Stanic said that part of Serbia's diplomatic activities must be aimed in this direction. Stanic said that an oil embargo would badly affect the economy of entire Yugoslavia and that of the Republic of Serbia, so that it had to be prevented.

Stanic assessed that the Federal Government and the Federal Foreign Ministry were not functioning properly, and that with a view to preventing and alleviating the consequences of economic sanctions, the Serbian Government would demand of the Federal Government to set into motion the procedures with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) because of a discriminatory treatment of Yugoslavia.

Stanic added that the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy would be demanded to exert influence via its offices abroad on foreign economic circles to work on unhindered economic co-operation with Serbia.

Stanic said that measures which could help, would be Serbia's turning towards prospective partners outside the E.C., the speedy development of co-operation with the Soviet Union, or rather, with individual Soviet republics.

Renewal Movement Supports Geneva Agreement

AU2611210291 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The Serbian Renewal Movement supports the agreement on a permanent truce that was signed in Geneva and demands that the agreement be respected. The Serbian Renewal Movement condemns all forms of extremism that threaten the just aims and results of the antifascist struggle of Serbs in present-day Croatia, says a communique issued by the party.

By continuing the war in order to conquer territories in which Croats constitute a majority, the Serbian people would present themselves to Europe and the world as an aggressor, something they have never been in their history, the Serbian Renewal Movement states. Defending his own and not taking even an inch of someone else's territory lies in the tradition of the Serbian soldier and people, states the communique issued by the Serbian Renewal Movement states.

POLITIKA Opposes Deployment of UN Troops

LD2611201791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1353 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 26 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes on Tuesday [26 November] that "insisting on the deployment of blue helmets along the administrative borders is a dangerous [word indistinct] and directly supports the Croatian version of fascism and this at its death-bed." The paper says that, in an attempt to jointly protect this version, "Europe cannot remain [words indistinct]."

A rift is possible, writes the paper, if "the Germans and their natural satellites" recognize on their own the independence of the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia. That would "destroy a myth of united western Europe" and jeopardize the "survival of the continental union," writes POLITIKA EKSPRES.

The paper says that, in view of their objectives, the anxiety of the Germans is justified because they know that the only logical line of demarcation between the two sides in the conflict would be the one where they are actually clashing.

Recognition of Slovenia and Croatia would [words indistinct] the declaratory attitude towards the borders because "the [word indistinct] would then flare up and reach unimaginable proportions," while the "newly recognized independence of the republics would factually be invalidated," concludes POLITIKA EKSPRES.

Police Search for Kosovars Avoiding JNA Call-Up

LD2611204991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Ethnic Albanian recruits from Kosovo are not heeding the call-up to the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] to do their military service. Ethnic Albanian reservists are also refusing to heed the call-up for Army exercises. Because of that the Serbian regime and the police have become increasingly nervous, proof of which is an intensified repression over the Albanians. The Serbian police have recently been carrying out mass-scale searches of Albanian homes throughout Kosovo trying to find young men to be sent to the front, and when they fail to find them they start terrorizing the families. The police control the bars and at all border crossings to Kosovo so-called custom controls are

at work where the Army and the police patrol, thus preventing the free [words indistinct].

Despite the increasing repression from the Serboslavian [as heard] Army and the Serbian communist regime, ethnic Albanians are resolved not to heed the call-up to join an Army which has become a pure Serbian army.

Vojvodina

Kostic Addressses Joint Session of Chambers

International Intervention Viewed

LD2611160191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 26 Nov (TANJUG)— At a joint session of all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly today, Jugoslav Kostic, member of the SFRY Presidency, speaking about the problem of resolving the Yugoslav crisis, said that the introduction of international control would help to restore peace and prevent genocide of the Serbian population.

He explained that, because of its bias and pressures from individual countries, the EC had failed to remain objective, thus forcing the SFRY Presidency to seek help from the United Nations.

At the same session Predrag Markov, the provincial secretary for internal affairs, said that the security situation in Vojvodina is deteriorating and is being further exacerbated by attacks on the Serbian towns of Sid, Apatin, and Ilinci and the arrival of about 7,000 refugees. These include 2,000 captured members of the Croatian paramilitary formations which have been transferred to Vojvodina over the last few days.

Markovic Replacement Demanded

AU2611201691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Report by Slavko Pusic]

[Excerpts] Speaking to the delegates of three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly about the current problems in solving the Yugoslav crisis, SFRY Presidency Member Jugoslav Kostic said that after dealing with the blockade, the collective chief of state has concentrated on establishing peace in the country. The one unshakeable premise, essential to solution of the crisis, has been that Yugoslavia exists as a state and that it cannot be erased from the map with a stroke of a pen.

Bearing in mind the failure of the EC, Kostic continued, the Presidency demanded that the issue of the genocide of the Serbian people in Croatia be put on the agenda of the UN Security Council and demanded that blue helmets be sent to Croatia. Several delegates, including Danilo Pantovic, supported this decision, but explicitly demanded that blue helmets should be deployed between the warring sides and not along the administrative borders of Croatia. [passage omitted]

During the debate, Vojvodina Assembly delegates demanded that Ante Markovic should be replaced immediately and that the SFRY Assembly be constituted out of the representatives of those republics and people who want to live in it. They demanded that Predrag Markov, provincial secretary for internal affairs, reply to the questions of how many Vojvodina citizens, particularly ethnic Hungarians, had gone abroad in order to avoid being mobilized. They also wanted to know what measures had been taken against the ideologues and organizers of anti-war meetings in Senta and Ada, as well as some other places, where, under the guise of democracy, an attempt was made to organize a referendum contrary to the Serbian Constitution. Delegates demanded that the security organs send back to Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem all military draftees who failed to respond to the mobilization call issued by the government of this Serbian region.

Assembly Supports UN Peace Troops in Croatia

LD2611121091 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Novi Sad, November 26 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Province of Vojvodina on Tuesday [26 November] upheld the demand of the Yugoslav Presidency to the U.N. Security Council for U.N. peace troops to be engaged in the Republic of Croatia on the line dividing the territories with the majority Serbian population from the territories with the majority Croatian population.

The parliament lent support to the efforts of the Presidency and the Yugoslav Armed Forces towards protecting the Serbian population on its age-old hearths in Croatia and condemned, as it underlined, the genocide over Serbs in Croatia.

The parliament assessed that engagement of the federal organs at international level so as to secure state and legal continuity of Yugoslavia should be continued.

The Vojvodina parliament gave support to the process aimed at removal of Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic and Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar. The process was initiated by the Yugoslav Presidency and the Yugoslav bicameral parliament's Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

The Chamber, although some of its deputies were not present, delivered a no-confidence vote to Markovic and Loncar, while the rump Yugoslav Presidency opened proceedings aimed at choosing a new prime minister designate.

The federal institutions work without the deputies from the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia, which proclaimed their respective states sovereign. They have also been joined by the deputies from the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina who are of Moslem and Croatian nationality.